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AN
HUMBLE ADDRESS

AND
EARNEST APPEAL

TO
THOSE RESPECTABLE PERSONAGES
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

WHO,
BY THEIR GREAT AND PERMANENT INTEREST
IN LANDED PROPERTY,

THEIR LIBERAL EDUCATION, ELEVATED RANK,
AND ENLARGED VIEWS,

ARE THE ABLEST TO JUDGE, AND THE FITTEST TO DECIDE,

WHETHER A
CONNECTION WITH, OR A SEPARATION FROM

THE
CONTINENTAL COLONIES OF AMERICA,
BE MOST FOR THE NATIONAL ADVANTAGE, AND THE
LASTING BENEFIT OF THESE KINGDOMS.

Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. HOR.

The THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

BY JOSIAH TUCKER, D. D.
DEAN OF GLOCESTER.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXVI.

[Price 1s. 6d.]

THE LUMBERMAN'S ALMANAC

FOR THE YEAR 1881

AND A MONTHLY SUPPLEMENT

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HUMBLE ADDRESS, &c.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN;



HOUGH the Author of the ensuing Tract may be below your Notice, as an Individual, yet the Subject he treats upon, highly deserves your most serious Attention. In the present unhappy Disputes between the Parent-State and the Colonies, he undertakes to point out, what Measures the Landed-Interest of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* ought to pursue in future, for the Sake of themselves and their Posterity. And if what he has to offer, should, after a due Examination, be found to be reasonable, solid, and satisfactory, he relies so much on your own good Sense and Judgment, as to believe, that you will not reject his Plan, merely because it originated from an inferior Hand. This is all the Favour he asks, or expects from you.

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UPON

UPON this Subject, he waves the Consideration of every Thing, which might have a Tendency to keep the present Question out of Sight. **Great-Britain* and her Colonies are now at open War. THIS IS THE FACT. But if it should be asked, How these Things came to pass? From what Causes did they spring? Which are the real, and which are the apparent Motives in this Controversy? Moreover, who were originally and principally to blame? And what Methods ought to have been taken at first, in order to have prevented Matters from coming to their present Height?—The Author having already given his Sentiments on each of these Heads in his 3d, 4th, and 5th preceding Tracts, and also in his Letter to Mr. BURKE, will not here repeat the same Things.—The grand Object now before him is simply this; *Great-Britain and her Colonies are at open War*: And the proper and important Question arising from such a Fact is the following, *What is to be done at the present Crisis?*

THREE Schemes have been proposed;—the Parliamentary,—Mr. BURKE's,—and my own.

THE Parliamentary Scheme is,—To maintain *vi et armis* the Supremacy of the Mother-Country over her Colonies, in as full and ample a Manner, as over any Part of the *British* Dominions.

MR.

MR. BURKE's is, [tho' not in express *Words*] To resign or relinquish the Power of the *British* Parliament over the Colonies, and to erect each Provincial Assembly into an independent *American* Parliament;—subject nevertheless to the King of *Great-Britain*, with his usual Prerogatives:—For which Favour of acknowledging the same Sovereign, the Colonists are to be complimented with the most precious Rights, Privileges, and Advantages of *British* Subjects:—I say, *complimented*, and complimented even *gratuitously*:—For as to their contributing any Proportion, either of Men or Money, towards the public Expence, and in Return for those Favours:—All this is to be entirely left to their own innate Goodness and Generosity, to do just as they please.

My Scheme [which Mr. BURKE, in his last Speech of *March 22, 1775*, is pleased to term a *childish* one] is,—To separate totally from the Colonies, and to reject them from being Fellow-Members, and joint Partakers with us in the Privileges and Advantages of the *British* Empire, because they refuse to submit to the Authority and Jurisdiction of the *British* Legislature:—Offering at the same Time to enter into Alliances of Friendship, and Treaties of Commerce with them, as with any other sovereign, independent States.

Now,

Now, in order to determine, which of these Schemes is the most eligible;—it would be right to consider, which is the easiest and most practicable,—which is least expensive,—which is likeliest to prevent similar Disturbances and Disputes for the future,—and which will least endanger the *English* Constitution and our domestic Tranquillity. For all these Circumstances ought to be taken into the Account, before a due Judgment can be formed.

IN regard to the first, I wish for the present to be silent about it;—partly out of Respect to that august Body which has given a Sanction to it;—partly because it is now upon Trial, whether it can be executed or not;—and partly likewise because this must fall of Course, if either Mr. BURKE's, or mine, should be judged to have the Preference. For these Reasons, I say, I wish to keep a respectful Silence on this Head.

BUT in respect to Mr. BURKE, I need not stand on so much Ceremony. For though he is confessedly a great *Rhetorician*, and can with his magic Voice raise a mighty Tempest of metaphorical Lightnings and Thunders;—yet, Heaven be praised, there is the Period of all his Powers: And his *verba ardentia*, his *flaming Words*, are found to end at last (like many other Explosions) in Noise and Smoke. Nor doth it, I humbly apprehend, follow, that the

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Orator is endowed with a greater Proportion of political Discernment than other Men, or with more disinterested Sincerity, and real Love of his Country, in making a just and honest Application of that Discernment;—merely because he has more Words at Command, and can muster up a greater Army of bright Similies, and florid Expressions.

BUT be that as it may:—I now consider myself as standing at the Bar of the public Tribunal: And therefore before the Jury is struck, and the Trial begins, I humbly beg Leave to claim, and to exercise one of the distinguishing Privileges of *Englishmen* in such Cases, viz. To except against all such Persons in the Pannel, who appear to be under a wrong Bias, and an undue Influence respecting the Nature of this Dispute.

AND 1st, I except against *Courtiers and Placemen*, considered *as such*. This is not uttered out of a Spirit of Resentment, Pique, or Disappointment, according to the Mode of modern Times. For, I thank God, I have no Cause to complain of any Disappointment; having since my Advancement to the Deanery of *Glocester*, in the Year 1758, neither directly nor indirectly made the least or the most distant Application for any other or higher Station. This Renunciation of aspiring Views is a Circumstance, which I am persuaded Mr. BURKE knew perfectly well, by various Means, and from different

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rent Persons, especially from a noble Lord, formerly high in Office, and a great *Favourite* at Court, but now his Coadjutor, and a flaming Patriot. And yet the Orator has been pleased to characterize me by Name in his Speech of the 19th of *April* 1774, without any Provocation, as one of those *Court-Vermine* (such was his polite Phrase) who would do any Thing for the Sake of a Bishoprick.— Moreover I do not make this Exception against Courtiers from any bad Opinion I have conceived of the present Set of Ministers: For I think it may be fairly allowed, without paying them any Compliment, that they are to the full as *able*, and as *honest* as the best of those who are endeavouring to supplant them. But nevertheless, as they are subject to many unhappy Biasses, which may draw their Judgments aside without sinister Intentions, they ought to be excepted against in the present Dispute. In fact, while the great Continent of *North America* shall continue to be united to this Island under any Mode whatever, Persons in Administration will necessarily have a Multitude of Places and Sinécures to dispose of, many lucrative Contracts to bestow; and to speak in coarse, tho' very expressive *English*, many Jobs of various Kinds, wherewith to gratify their Friends, and Dependents. Not to mention, that if ever a total Separation (such as proposed by my Plan) should ensue,

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the Ministry for the Time being, would run a great Risque of falling a Sacrifice to the blind Zeal of popular Discontents, and the knavish Intrigues of Party-Factions. Therefore for all these Reasons, I must insist, that Courtiers and Placemen ought to be excepted against, as being not sufficiently unbiassed, or disinterested, to determine impartially on the present Subject.

2dly, I particularly except against the whole Band of Mock-Patriots. And my Reason is, because this Race of Men will of course prefer that Scheme, whatever it be, which can furnish them with the most lasting Fund for Opposition and Complaint. Now it is evident, that our Conjunction with *North-America*, upon any Terms, and under any or every Modification, will not fail of becoming an inexhaustible Source of Altercation and Reproach, let whatever Measures be pursued. For Example: had the Ministry proposed at first that very Scheme, which Mr. BURKE has now thought proper to recommend, the Heads of the Faction, and even Mr. BURKE himself (if he had not been a Pensioner to *North-America*) would most probably have proposed just the Reverse; that is, they and he would have insisted on the Necessity of obliging the Colonies to contribute a Share *proportionably to their Interest, and to the growing Benefits they receive*, towards the Maintenance, the Grandeur, and the Glory of that Empire, from which their

ADDRESS AND APPEAL TO

own Preservation and Prosperity are derived. And then the popular Cry would have been, that a wicked and a profligate Administration were going to sacrifice the Honour and Dignity of the *British* Crown, and the dear-bought Rights and Privileges of the *British* Nation, to *American* Gold, and *American* Ingratitude.—— Then we should have been told (and every Town and Country News paper would have echoed and re-echoed the Tale) that *America* was the Property of *Great-Britain* by every possible and legal Claim;—by Right of Discovery,—Right of Occupancy,—Right of Possession,—uninterrupted Prescription,—Communication of Benefits,— Participation of Posts of Honour, and Places of Profit,—general Protection,—never-ceasing Defence, &c. &c. And then we should have been told with peculiar Emphasis, that this new-fangled, ministerial Scheme of erecting so many new Parliaments, all co-ordinate with each other, under one general Monarch, was not only a notorious Breach of the *English* Constitution, and utterly repugnant to the Law of the Land;—but was also a deep-laid, diabolical Contrivance to subjugate these petty Parliaments, one after another, and all in their Turns, to the irresistible Power of one great Despot:—In short, then it would have been said (and with great Appearance of Truth) that *divide et impera* was the ministerial Maxim;—and that, what was

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done, or going to be done in *America*, was only the Omen and Prelude to the like fatal Establishments here in *Britain*. For the next Step would be (and upon a Pretence full as good, and altogether as constitutional) to break to Pieces the united Force of the *British* Parliament, by erecting one diminutive Assembly of States at *Edinburgh*, another at *York*, a third at *London*, and a fourth at *Bath*, or *Exeter*, or somewhere in the West: And then, partly by flattering and cajoling,—partly by Bribes or Bullying,—by exciting their Hopes, or their Fears at one Time,—and their Jealousies at another,—and by playing off each of these puny Assemblies against its Rival, the Minister would necessarily become omnipotent;—and then farewell to the Liberties of *Old England*.

3dly, I object also against all those of whatever Denomination, from the roaring Patriot in the Senate, to the miserable Scribbler in the Garret, who are the Pensioners of *France*, or *Spain*, or of any other rival Power: I say, I object against their being Judges in this Dispute, because the very intent of their receiving Pay is to promote Discord, and to cherish Faction;—and because they cannot earn their Wages with more Facility, or with surer Success to their Employers, than by patronizing such Schemes, as will necessarily keep up the Disputes between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies.

BUT here the Smartness of Debate (to use one of Mr. BURKE's very smart Expressions) will be apt to say, "Who are those Persons against whom your insinuations are levelled? Name them, if you are able: And as you ought to be furnished with the most positive Proofs, before you are intitled to throw out such Invectives, give them to the Public, in order that we may hold these Traitors to their Country in just Abhorrence."

To all which strong Words I would beg Leave to suggest the following Answers.

1. I think it may be allowed, without injuring the Cause of Truth, or even Charity, that a Man may be fully convinced of a bad Design, or a wicked Scheme being in Agitation, without being able to prove, who are the Persons concerned in it. It is not usual for the Guilty to call upon the Innocent to step forwards and be their Accusers: Nor can it be expected, that the Names of the Conspirators should be the first Thing in any Conspiracy which is to be brought to Light. Indeed, generally speaking, this is the last Part of any Plot, or of any bad Design, which can be fully known, or legally ascertained. And therefore, if either the Experience of former Times, or the Nature of the Case, can afford probable Reasons, and circumstantial Evidence, in Support of this Assertion, *That there are Numbers of Pensioners to Foreign Powers*

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Powers now among us—surely we have obtained all the Proofs that are necessary at present towards establishing a general Belief of the Fact (which is the only Point here contended for); and we must leave to Time, that great Discoverer of political Machinations, to unravel the rest.

WHEREFORE, 2dly, Let it be observed, that the History of this very Country furnishes us with striking Examples in Confirmation of the above Assertion. Particularly during the memorable Reigns of CHARLES the Second, and WILLIAM the Third; that is, just before, and just after the Revolution, there were many venal *Englishmen*, both in the Senate and out of it, the Pensioners of *France*; who, to be sure, meant nothing by what they said or did on these Occasions, and for such Pay, but the Good of their dear bleeding Country; who therefore stormed and thundered, speechified and harangued, printed and published out of pure, disinterested Zeal for the Welfare of poor *Old England!*

HENCE therefore I infer, 3dly, That the like may happen again, or rather has happened already, unless it can be shewn, either, that *France* and *Spain* want no such Agents at present; or if they did, that they cannot now, as heretofore, find them here in *Britain*. In regard to the first of these Positions, whosoever will

will give himself the Trouble to examine coolly and impartially into the slender Reasons alleged on our Parts, for beginning two of the most bloody and destructive Wars that ever were known, will find sufficient Cause to believe, that those Powers will always think it to be more for their Interests, to cut out Work at Home for these restless and turbulent Islanders (as they are pleased to call us) than to let us be at Peace among ourselves, lest that Circumstance should give us an Opportunity of picking Quarrels with our Neighbours. And most certain it is, that both the former *Spanish* (or the *No-Search*) War, and the latter *French* (or the *Acadia* and *Ohio*) War, were begun and carried on principally with a View to promote the immediate Interests of the Northern Colonies; the former to protect their Smugglers, when hovering about the Coasts, and when actually trading in the prohibited Ports of the *Spanish-West-Indies*; and the latter, (a War, alas! begun, without so much as a Declaration of War!) to do, I know not what! unless it was to enable the grateful Colonies to rebel against the Mother-Country, perhaps a Generation or two sooner than otherwise they would have done. But be that as it may, one Thing is certain, and beyond Dispute, that the more we are embroiled among ourselves, the less Cause will the other Powers of *Europe* have to fear our giving them
any

any Disturbance: And that 20,000*l.* or 30,000 *l.* a Year spent in Bribes and Pensions, properly disposed, to raise an Opposition against Government, and to inflame the Populace against their Rulers, will do more effectual Service to the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, than Thirty Times these Sums laid out in manning Fleets, or equipping Squadrons, or preparing and embarking Troops for an Invasion.

If therefore these Points are so self-evident, as not to be denied, the only Question now remaining is this, Can it be supposed, or is it credible, that a popular *British* Senator, a *British* Pamphleteer, or a *British* News-writer, in an Age so pure and uncorrupt as ours, would accept of a Bribe, or a Pension on such dishonourable Conditions? And are not all these illustrious Personages either of such well-known independent Fortunes, or of such spotless Characters, and approved Virtue, as to be superior to any Temptation of this Sort? Now here I say nothing, but chuse to be silent; and earnestly entreat every Reader to judge for himself. Indeed there was a Time, when a Text of sacred Scripture might have been urged, as carrying some Weight in deciding the present Question: “Beware of false Prophets, who come to
 “you in Sheep’s Cloathing, but inwardly they
 “are ravening Wolves. Ye shall know them
 “by their Fruits. Do Men gather Grapes of
 “Thorns,

“Thorns, or Figs of Thistles? Even so every
 “good Tree bringeth forth good Fruit; but a
 “corrupt Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit. A
 “good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit, nei-
 “ther can a corrupt Tree bring forth good
 “Fruit.—WHEREFORE BY THEIR FRUITS YE
 “SHALL KNOW THEM.” I say, there was a
 Time, when the Authority of such a Caution
 would have been regarded as more decisive than
 the Productions of our modern licentious Presses.
 But as we now live in very extraordinary Times,
 full of new Lights, and new Discoveries, I for-
 bear, lest our Patriots should accuse me of Bi-
 gotry, Priestcraft, or Superstition*.

* In the Year of the Rebellion 1745, and for many
 Years afterwards, the *London Evening Post* (now a Re-
 publican) was then a flaming *Jacobite Paper*: During
 which Period the Author of these Tracts had frequently the
 Honour of being abused by him, under the Character of a
low-church, fanatical, Oliverian Whig. Once in particular
 (above 20 Years ago) he was complimented in the high-
 flown Strain of *Jehiah ben Tucker ben Judas Iscariot*. The
 Times are now greatly altered; and so is the Tone of the
 Abuse. But the Author is perfectly resigned to these Vi-
 cissitudes of human Affairs: And he has no other Favour
 to ask of this, and of all his Brother Scribblers, whether
 weekly or monthly, in Sheets, or in Pamphlets, than that
 they would *never praise him*; because that, and that only,
 he should look upon to be a *real Disgrace*. But it is not
 the *London Evening Post* alone, who from a violent Jacobite
 has commenced a fierce Republican. Many like Instances
 may be recollected. And indeed the Transition is natural
 enough; for if a Man can be so absurd as to think that there
 is an *indisfeisible* Right in any one Family, when that Family
 becomes *extinct*, he turns a Republican.

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4thly, I expressly except against all Persons of *Republican* Principles for very obvious Reasons; for though they dignify themselves by the Name of *Whigs*, yet as they are not the genuine, *constitutional Whigs* of this Kingdom, but an unnatural Superfestation, and the avowed Enemies of the *British* Constitution, they ought not to be allowed to sit in Judgment in a *British* Cause. They are, it is well-known, the professed Advocates for continuing and cementing the Union between *Great-Britain*, and her Colonies, and yet they wish, above all Things, to see these Colonies totally exempt from, and independent of, the Power and Jurisdiction of the *British* Legislature. Now, how are we to reconcile these glaring Contradictions? And what is the Reason for professing such a preposterous Zeal for *America*, in Preference both to the Interests, and Honour, of their native Country? The Reason is this:—They think, that by cherishing and protecting a Republican Government in the Colonies, they are paving the Way for introducing a similar Establishment into *Great Britain*. Therefore *Republicism* is the Bond of Union between these unnatural *Englishmen* and their Fellow-Labourers of *America*: *Republicism*, I say, [pardon the Use of a new Word, where the Language doth not afford a better] is made the *common Cause* for uniting Persons of the most discordant Interests, and different Inclinations in other Respects.

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AND I will add, as an Illustration of this Matter, and to shew how far certain Persons will go to obtain their Ends, that the Republicans in the Reigns of CHARLES II. JAMES II. and WILLIAM III. joined the Constitutionalists in bringing about the Revolution, chiefly with the Hopes, that a Prince who owed his Election to the Voice of the People, might the easier be dethroned by the same People, whenever they could get them into the Mood to do it, whether with, or without a Cause. For the very Sound of Monarchy, however limited, or however well administered, is grating to their Ears. They cannot bear to think, that one Man, or one Family, should be so much exalted above *themselves*, in Contradiction to their darling Maxim of a NATURAL EQUALITY. And this Scheme for laying the Foundation of a *new* and *equal* Republic, is what the Republicans really intend by using the Phrase *Revolution-Principles* at this Day. In short, we have now the most authentic Proofs, that their Predecessors of old tried all Means in their Power, and even applied to the Court of *France* first to prevent, and then to defeat the Revolution, and to set up a Republican Form in its stead; alleging that it was more for the Interest of that Court to have a Republican Government take place in *England*, somewhat after the Example of that of *Holland*, than any Kind of Monarchical Constitution; because this, at one Time or other, might be-

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come a troublesome Neighbour, and a dangerous Rival; whereas nothing of that Kind was to be feared from a mere simple *Democracy*. Moreover, in some Years afterwards, when the Crown was settled on the House of *Hanover*, we know it well, (for it is no Secret) that the Republicans both then, and since, had no other Merit towards that House, notwithstanding all their Boastings, than that of reserving its Princes, like the Prisoners in *POLYPHEMUS's* Den, *to be devoured the last*. A mighty Favour truly! For which our Ears are perpetually dinned with a Repetition of the Services of these Men towards the ungrateful House of *Hanover*!

AND now, my Lords and Gentlemen, having excepted against Courtiers and Placemen as *such*,—against pretended Patriots *on every Account*,—against the Pensioners of foreign Powers,—and against rank *Republicans*,—my humble Request is, that the Cause between Mr. BURKE and me may be tried by the LANDED INTEREST ONLY. They are certainly the properest and most unexceptionable Judges; for they have *the most at Stake*, and their Interest, and the Interest of the Public, must necessarily coincide. They can gain nothing either by War, or Peace, by a Submission to, or a Separation from, the Rebels in *North-America*, but what must tend to the general, as well as to their own particular

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Advantage.

Advantage. Whereas almost every other Rank of Men may find their Account, in countenancing and supporting such Measures, as may greatly enrich themselves, tho' at the Expence of depopulating and impoverishing their native Country.

NOR, my Lords and Gentlemen, is this Cause beneath your solemn Notice and Regard. In the former *Spanish* [or no-search] War, you spent above *Sixty Millions* Sterling, including the extraordinary Sums raised, and the fresh Debts contracted:—And in the last *French, Ohio, or Acadia* War, you spent above *NINETY MILLIONS STERLING*, if computed after the same Manner, viz. Additional Sums annually raised, and new Debts contracted. And all, alas! for what!!!!

BUT

* The late Dr. BUTLER, Bishop of *Bristol*, and afterwards of *Durham*, had a singular Notion respecting large Communities and public Bodies;—a Notion which perhaps is not altogether unapplicable to the present Case. His Custom was, when at *Bristol*, to walk for Hours in his Garden in the darkest Night, which the Time of the Year could afford; and I had frequently the Honour to attend him. After walking some Time, he would stop suddenly, and ask the Question, "What Security is there against the 'Insanity of Individuals? The Physicians know of none: And as to Divines, we have no Data either from Scripture or Reason to go upon relative to this Affair."—*True, my Lord, no Man has a Lease of his Understanding, any more than of his Life. They are both in the Hands of the Sovereign Disposer of all Things.* He would then take another

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BUT without any Retrospect to Things past, let us look towards what is to come.

THE first Thing to be considered in the Dispute between Mr. BURKE and me, is, which of our Schemes *is the easiest to be executed, and the most practicable?* He proposes that all Concessions should be made on our Parts in Favour of the Colonies; but that none, or next to none, should be made by them in Favour of *Great-Britain*. Now this Proposal can never terminate the Dispute between us and them, but on one or other of the following Suppositions.

FIRST, that the Parliament and People of *Great-Britain* are now convinced, that they have acted injuriously, illegally, and unconstitutionally, in pretending to make any Laws, whether good or bad, to bind the *Americans*: Because they (the *Americans*) have their own Legislatures, which are totally independent of ours: And therefore we take Shame to ourselves by revoking these pretended, usurping Laws. For in short, the first Step in Politics, as well as in

Turn, and again stop short. "Why might not whole Communities and public Bodies be seized with Fits of *Insanity*, as well as Individuals?" *My Lord, I have never considered the Case, and can give no Opinion concerning it.* "Nothing but this Principle, that they are liable to *Insanity*, equally at least with private Persons, can account for the major Part of those Transactions, which we read in History." I thought little of this odd Conceit of the Bishop's at this Juncture: But I own I could not avoid thinking of it a great deal since, and applying it to many Cases.

Morals,

Morals, towards sincere Repentance, is *Restitution*. Or, secondly, though we should not give up the Point of *Rights* of making Laws, and cry *peccavimus*,—yet we take for granted, that no improper Use will be made of the great and manifold Concessions, contained in Mr. BURKE's Scheme; because we have to deal with a People, who (we know by long Experience) may be trusted with every Thing, as being the *Quintessence of Honour and Honesty*, both in public and private Life, and particularly the *fair unsullied Monuments of national Gratitude*.

OR if this likewise should prove to be a Pill too large, and too nauseous for *Englishmen* to swallow;—then, thirdly, we are to suppose, in order to end all Controversy, that the Trade with these *North-Americans* is so essential to our Interests, as a commercial Nation, that we must keep them in Good Humour at any Rate, and at any Expence;—lest they should deprive us of their Custom, to the utter Ruin of our Manufactures, Shipping, Navigation, &c. &c. &c.

OR lastly, we must suppose, that *Old England* is in Fact grown so exceedingly weak and impotent, and *America* so very strong and powerful, that it is in vain to resist any Encroachments, which the Colonies may make on the Mother-Country:—For in such Circumstances, it is more prudent to submit to the present Evils, great as they are, than to provoke our Conquerors to inflict still greater.

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I say, one or other of these four Suppositions must necessarily be made, before Mr. BURKE's Plan can terminate in real Peace, and restore that Harmony, of which he makes such continual Boastings. Let him therefore, at his own Leisure, take his Choice of either of the four, or even adopt them all, if he pleases, and make the most of them.

In the mean while, deign, my Lords and Gentlemen, to cast your Eyes on my Plan (*childish* as it is represented by him to be) of a *total Separation*. And first of all, Is it practicable in itself? And could it be executed with Ease, if heartily set about?—Suppose therefore, that you were to recal your Fleets and Armies, and publish to the *Americans* the following Manifesto, couched under the Form of an Act of Parliament.

“ WHEREAS many of the *British* Provinces,
 “ Colonies, and Plantations in *North-America*,
 “ after having made from Time to Time various Attempts to throw off, or subvert the legislative Authority and Jurisdiction of *Great-Britain*, have at length proceeded to the
 “ greatest and most daring Outrages for accomplishing the same, by entering into illegal
 “ Combinations and traitorous Conspiracies, and
 “ even by breaking out into open and undisguised rebellion: And whereas the Inhabitants in general of the said Provinces, Colo-

“ nies,

"nies, and Plantations, shew not the least Signs
 "of Sorrow and Contrition for their past
 "Offences, nor any Desire to implore the Cle-
 "mency of the Parent-State, which hath in
 "all Instances cherished, supported, and pro-
 "tected them at an immense Expence both of
 "Blood and Treasure; but, on the contrary,
 "continue to increase their hostile Preparations
 "for opposing, by Violence and Force of Arms,
 "the Execution of the Laws made by the su-
 "preme Legislature of Parliament for the due
 "Governance and constitutional Dependence
 "of such subordinate States and Provinces;

"Be it therefore enacted by the King's most
 "excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and
 "Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-
 "ral, and of the Commons of *Great-Britain* in
 "Parliament assembled;—that every such Pro-
 "vince, Colony, and Plantation which either
 "now is, or at the Day of next
 "ensuing shall be found to be in Arms and
 "Rebellion against the Laws and Authority
 "of the supreme Legislature of *Great-Britain*,
 "shall, from and after the Time above menti-
 "oned, be totally cut off, severed and sepa-
 "rated from the *British* Empire; and that all
 "its Inhabitants shall be declared, and are here-
 "by declared to have lost and forfeited all Pri-
 "vileges and Advantages, Benefits and Pro-
 "tection both by Sea and Land, belonging,

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“ or supposed to belong to the Subjects of
 “ *Great-Britain* ; and that they shall be deemed,
 “ taken, and reputed, in all Courts of Law, and
 “ in all Respects whatever, to be as much Aliens
 “ and Foreigners, and subject to the same Inca-
 “ pacities, as if they had been Aliens born.

“ PROVIDED nevertheless, and to the Intent,
 “ that as far as the Nature of the Case will ad-
 “ mit, the *Innocent* may not be involved in the
 “ Punishment intended only for the *Guilty*; be
 “ it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it
 “ shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, and
 “ for his Heirs and Successors, at any Time, to
 “ grant a Pardon to a whole State, Province, or
 “ Colony, now in Rebellion, under the Great
 “ Seal of the Realm; or to one or more Inha-
 “ bitant or Inhabitants thereof under the Seal
 “ Manual, and to *restore* such Colony, or such
 “ Person or Persons to their former Rights and
 “ Privileges, as *British* Subjects, when it shall
 “ appear to his Majesty in Council, that such a
 “ Province, or Colony, or such a Petitioner or
 “ Petitioners is, are, or shall be deserving of his
 “ Royal Clemency and Favour.”

SUPPOSE, I say, such a Manifesto, or one to
 this Effect, and couched under the Form of
 an Act of Parliament, to be proclaimed to the
 World concerning the Rebellion now existing
 in *America*: And then I ask, what possible Dif-
 ficulty could attend the Execution of it? Or

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who

who would even attempt to prevent it? The only People or Nation, who would wish to obstruct the Execution of such a Law, are the *Americans* themselves; for they have no Manner of Objection against participating in all Kinds of *Benefits* to be derived from an *Union* with us; though they raise such terrible Outcries against sharing in any of our *Burdens*: And yet their Efforts and Opposition would be all in vain; because, tho' you should even allow that they are able to maintain their Independence in *America*, that Circumstance would not render them the Conquerors of *Great-Britain*, much less of the rest of the World, who must of course remain independent of them.

THEREFORE, so far at least my System must have the Preference to Mr. BURKE'S.

2dly, THE next Question is, *Which System can be carried into Execution with the least Expence?* And surely, as we have hitherto been engaged in nothing but Profusion and Extravagance, it is now high Time to adopt, if we can, some useful Scheme of Frugality and Economy in regard to *America*.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, here again permit me to ask, What Expences can possibly attend the Execution of my Scheme?—The Thing itself is no sooner said, than done. And all the Charges attending it are summed up in the trifling Articles of Pen, Ink, Paper, and

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Printing. Whereas Mr. BURKE's System, even according to his own Account, will entail upon you Expences always increasing, nay, next to infinite. You must, for Example, win over the Heads and Leaders of the new *American* Parliaments by Means of "Great Honours and "great Emoluments," [a pretty Periphrasis this to describe the Art of *Bribing!*] in order to cooperate with the Plans of the *British* Parliament, and to bear a share of the general Burdens of the *British* Empire.

You must also guard their Coasts at all Times, and protect them from all Invaders: And when they chuse to amuse themselves by going on *smuggling, trucking, bucksterring, and buccaneering* Parties on the *Spanish* Main, then you must more particularly stand up in their Defence, and insist on their Vessels not being searched by the *Spanish* Guarda-costas. And if the *Spaniards* should think this an hard Measure, and appeal to the Practice and Example of *Englishmen* themselves, who never fail to search the Ships of all Nations, if found hovering on their Coasts, you must positively and vehemently say, that the *Case* is *widely different*:—Then you have a sufficient Plea for declaring War against them;—then, my Lords and Gentlemen, resolve (as your Predecessors did before) never to make Peace till the Right of Searching is given up;—then spend another *sixty* or *ninety* Millions in this new

Quarrel;—and at last make Peace (as they did) without ever mentioning the Right of not being searched; for which alone they pretended to go to War.

BUT this is not all:—For when the Back-Settlers in *America* shall have “topped the *Apalacbian* Mountains in sufficient Numbers to “constitute Hords of *Englisch* Tartars, pouring down an irresistible Cavalry on the un-“fortified Frontiers;”—who is to *resist* these *Irresistibles*?—Not the Colonists or Provincials; for they, poor People, tho’ now 150,000 strong, [see General LEE’s Letter] to fight against their Protectors and Defenders, will nevertheless be so frightened at the Sight of this *Apalacbian* Tartar Cavalry, that they will again cry out for Help to the Mother-Country;—again, I say, as they did before, when only an Handful of * *French* and *Indians* appeared against them.

* See, for a Proof of this Fact, First, a Message from the General Assembly of *Massachusetts Bay* to GOVERNOR SHIRLEY, 4th of *January*, 1754. Secondly, A Message from the Council and House of Representatives of ditto to ditto. Thirdly, An Address from the Council of Representatives of ditto to ditto. Fourthly, An Address of the Assembly of *Virginia* to the King. Fifthly, A Representation of the Commissioners met at *Albany*. And Sixthly, Extracts from the Proceedings of the CONGRESS at *Albany*, all in the Year 1754. And all of them antecedent to the Arrival of the two Regiments under GENERAL BRADDOCK. I would here recommend the Perusal of *The Controversy between Great-Britain and her Colonies*, printed for ALMON, to those who wish for a fuller Information on these interesting Points; particularly from Page 107 to 136.

And

And indeed, if the Mother-Country will act the Part of *Don Quixote* to that Degree, as to expend her best Blood and Treasure in their Cause, why should they incur any Dangers in their own dear Persons? Why be at the Pains and Charges of defending themselves, when they can so easily get the *British* Nation to fight, and bleed, and do every Thing for them? Besides, Mr. BURKE has already declared in express Terms, [Page 98, 2d Edit.] that AMERICA MUST NOT BE EXHAUSTED. Exhaust therefore yourselves, my Lords and Gentlemen! as much as you please, or as much as you can; but do not expect Assistance from *America*, even in her own Defence, whilst she can get such Knight-Errants as the *English* to fight her Battles; and whilst she can raise Patriots and Pamphleteers, News-Writers, and Republicans, without Number, to yell the *American* War-Hoop, and to denounce BLACK and BITTER Days against those who should even hesitate to obey her Commands.

BUT the third Question is, Which Scheme is best calculated to prevent the like Disturbances for the future?

AND here I would humbly beg Leave to observe, that if my Scheme had nothing else to recommend it to your Notice, it most infallibly cuts off all the present Causes of Dispute and Contention between the two Countries; so that they

they never can revive again. Whereas Mr. BURKE's is, at best, but a temporary Cessation from Hostilities; a mere Truce, till both Parties can be recruited, and better provided to begin the War again. Nay, his would be found in the Event,—not only to be no Manner of Cure or Palliation of the present Evils, but even greatly to foment them, and also to engender many new ones.

FOR Example:—Granting, that Peace was made on the very Terms which Mr. BURKE requires:—Granting, that we repealed every Act of Parliament to which the *Americans* have thought proper to object:—Granting also, that we renounce for ever any Claim of Right to levy Taxes:—And granting, in short, that the *American Assemblies* became so many distinct Parliaments, supreme within themselves, and independent of all others:—Still, whilst these *American Independents* are to be protected by the *British* Flag; whilst they are to enjoy all the Rights and Privileges of natural-born *British* Subjects, both at Home and Abroad, and in every Part of the Globe,—Questions *will*, and *must*, and *ought* to arise, on what Terms are these independent *Americans* to be thus protected? And what Compensation is to be made to the Mother-Country, for communicating to them her most valuable Rights and Privileges? Are they really to enjoy all Posts of Honour and

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Preferment, and all Places of Trust and Profit, and to be entitled to every Sort of Advantage, * Safeguard, and Protection, equally with the Natives of *Great-Britain*; and yet to make no Recompence or Acknowledgment for all these Favours?—The Answer of every staunch *American*, and of Mr. BURKE their Advocate General, must be as follows, (for on their Principles they can return no other) That each independent *American* Parliament will be ready to give and to grant to *Great-Britain*, by Way of Recompence or Gratification, the whole Sum of—*whatever they shall think proper, and no more*†. And that in respect to the Regulations of *American* Commerce, they will consent, that you shall put whatever nominal Restraints you please

* Were it not for the *British* Fleets, and for the Fortresses of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*,—and in short for the general Terror of the *British* Name, all the piratical States of *Barbary* would immediately seize on *American* Ships, when carrying Fish, or Rice, or any other *American* Produce South of *Cape Finisterre*, as their lawful Prey. And yet *America* doth not pay a single Shilling towards the Support of our Fleets, or the Maintenance of our Forts and Garrisons in any Part of the World.

† See the Resolutions of the grand Continental Congress, in Opposition to the reconciliatory Proposal of Parliament for permitting each Province to tax itself, according to its own Mode. In these Resolutions they expressly declare, that they will be the sole Judges, not only of the *Mode* of raising, but also of the Sum or Quantum to be raised, and of the Application of it: And that the Parliament of *Great-Britain* hath no Right to decide as to either of these Points.

upon

upon it, provided you will not enforce such Restraints by any Forfeitures or Penalties, which shall imply *the most distant Idea of * Taxation*;—and provided also that, if Offences should be supposed to be committed, they, (the *Americans*) and no others, shall be allowed to be Judges both of the Nature, and of the Degree of each Offence; and that the Cause shall be tried no where else, but in their own *American Courts*, and by their own *American Juries*.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, suffer me, I beseech you, to appeal to your own good Sense and Understandings on this Head.—Ask yourselves this plain Question, Is such a Plan of Reconciliation as Mr. BURKE proposes, a likely Method of terminating the present Disputes between the Mother-Country and her Colonies? Nay ask farther,—Hath it so much as a Tendency to cool and moderate them? Or rather, doth it not seem much better contrived to inflame, than to extinguish; to kindle new Fires, than to quench old ones?

BESIDES, when each of these *American Assemblies* shall be erected into a distinct Parliament, supreme within itself, and independent of the rest,—Is it possible to suppose, that no *new* Dis-

* The *Americans* have already declared, that they will consider every *restraining* or *compelling* Law, as a Tax upon their Property.—See DICKINSON's Letters.

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putes, or new Differences will arise between such co-ordinate States and rival Powers;—*neighbouring, jealous, and contending Powers*, I say, whose respective Limits are in many Instances as yet undefined, if really definable! And is it at all consistent with any Degree of common Sense, or daily Experience, to suppose that such Combustibles as these will not speedily catch Fire?—Especially, if we take into the Account, the discordant Tempers of the Inhabitants of these respective Provinces, their inbred Hatreds and Antipathies against each other, their different Modes of Life, the Difference of Climate, Religion, Manners, Habits of thinking, &c. &c.

Now, when Tumults and Disorders shall arise from any of these various Causes,—What is to be done? And to whom, or to what common Head, or general Umpire, is the appellant Province to carry her Complaint?—The Parliament of *Great Britain*, it seems, must no longer interfere; for that is no longer the supreme Head of the Empire, to which all the Parts used to be subordinate, and professed to be obedient; therefore, being destitute of any authoritative or constitutional Right to *compel* Submission, all it can do, is to offer its good Services by Way of Mediation; and that is, generally speaking, just nothing at all.

Is then the KING (abstracted from the Parliament) to be appealed to in this arduous Affair? And is he alone (in his mere *personal Capacity*)

to command the Peace to be preserved between State and State, or Province and Province. —

* Is he, I say, (abstracted from being a king of *Great Britain*) to summon all the Parties before himself and his Privy Council, in order to hear their respective Allegations, and finally to determine, and settle the Differences between them? Be it so: Then if he only is to decide, *as in an Affair relating to his own private Patrimony, in*

* The Princes of the House of STUART took it into their Heads to believe, that all Colonies were their private Patrimony; in respect of which the Parliament had no Right to intermeddle. This Notion, so long ago justly exploded, is now revived, (strange to tell!) even by modern Patriots, and *American* Republicans: For they are the People at present, and not the King's Ministers, who propose to exalt the Prerogatives of the Crown to the Subversion of the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties of the *British* Parliament, and the *British* Nation. Indeed so far, it must be owned, is Fact,—that as the Princes of that House had the first modelling of the Colonies, they introduced a Practice (still most absurdly retained, tho' without any Power to enforce it) of bringing all Appeals before themselves and their Privy Councils, instead of before the Court of King's Bench or the House of Lords; which is the only regular and constitutional Mode of appealing, and the only one now observed in Appeals from *Ireland*. However, notwithstanding this *Impropriety*, as the king can send no armed Forces to *America*, without Consent of Parliament first had for their Maintenance, and afterwards for authorizing the Use of military Law, and military Discipline among them, it may be justly averred, that the King doth in no other exclusive Sense govern *America*, than as the sole executive Power, which is to enforce and put in Motion the Laws and decrees of the supreme Legislature of *Great Britain*. See a very candid and impartial Account of this Matter in a Book intituled, "Remarks on the principal Acts of the 13th Parliament of *Great Britain*," from Page 38 to 45.

which

which we have no more Concern than we have with Hanover,—it necessarily follows, that he must be invested with sufficient Power (independent of, and without the Consent of Parliament) to enforce these Decisions; for a Decree without a Power to enforce it, and to compel Obedience, is altogether nugatory and vain.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, this brings us to the last point of Comparison between Mr. BURKE's, and my System, viz. Which will least endanger, or rather, which is best adapted to preserve our present happy Constitution?

Mr. BURKE's, you see, (if consistent with itself) must invest the Prince with an amazing Degree of Power!—even with such a Degree as shall be sufficient to controul the refractory States of *America*, from one End of the Continent to the other. Nay, what is still more, this *supreme, controuling* Power must be the only CENTER of UNION throughout the Empire. Nothing besides is so much as proposed; and indeed nothing besides (when the parliamentary Connection is dissolved) can be sufficient to tie all the Parts together;—Parts so widely distant, so totally disjointed from each other, as the *British* Isles and the *American* Continent.

Now here again permit me to ask, Is not this a very alarming Circumstance even in Contemplation? And is all our boasted Zeal for Liberty to end at last only in that *Union and Connexion* which can be procured to the several detached

Parts of the Empire by means of a Court, and of a standing Army?—A large standing Army to be kept up independently of the *British* Parliament!—And that too for the express Purpose of enforcing the Decrees and Arbitrations of the Court!

BUT this is not all; for even a standing Army would not be so formidable (because it would soon moulder away) were no Means to be found out for its Support and Maintenance: Now this Scheme of many independent Parliaments points to the very Means of obtaining the necessary Supplies; for, as an ingenious Foreigner has very judiciously observed *, “A Sovereign who depends, with regard to Supplies, on several Assemblies, in Fact depends upon none. An Agent for the *American Colonies*, [I suppose the Author meant Dr. FRANKLIN] in his Examination before the House of Commons, (*Anno* 1766, P. 122) has even suggested in three Words the whole Substance of what I have endeavoured to prove on that Subject; when he said, *The granting Aids to the Crown is the only Means*

* See De LOLME's *Constitution of England*, the Note of Page 52. The Whole is a most excellent Treatise, and worthy the Perusal of all those *Englishmen*, who wish to understand, and to set a just Value on the distinguishing Excellencies of the *English* Constitution,—a Constitution, as he justly observes, the only one in its Kind, *ponderibus liberata suis*.

“ *the Americans have of* RECOMMENDING THEM-
“ SELVES TO THEIR SOVEREIGN. Nothing
“ therefore could be more fatal to *English* Li-
“ berty (and to *American* Liberty in the Issue)
“ than the Adoption of the Idea, cherished by
“ the *Americans*, of having distinct independent
“ Assemblies of their own, who should treat im-
“ mediately with the King, and grant him Sub-
“ sidies, to the utter Annihilation of the Power
“ of those antient, and hitherto successful As-
“ sertors of general Liberty, the *British* Parlia-
“ ment.”

To these Reflections in this and in other Parts of his Book, the judicious Author adds many striking Examples, particularly the present State of the Want of Liberty in *France* and *Spain*, by way of confirming and corroborating his Argument. But in my humble Opinion there is still a more forcible Example to be drawn from the Case of the hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*. For it is well known, that the Princes of that House rule in as absolute a Manner over every Part of their vast Possessions as the Sovereigns either of *France* or *Spain*; and yet there are States (answering to our Parliaments) in almost every Country belonging to the *Austrian* Dominions; nay, these States are frequently summoned to meet together; which is not the Case with the general national Assemblies of *France*, or with the
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38. ADDRESS AND APPEAL TO

Cortes of Spain. How then comes it to pass,—that such Meetings produce little or no Effects in regard to the obtaining of a *reasonable* Degree of Liberty for the People, which every Subject, if in his right Senses, wishes to obtain? The Reason is obvious:—There are a Multitude of little States or Parliaments within the Territories of the House of *Austria*;—the States of *Austria*, (not to mention the several still lesser States in the *Netherlands*) the States of *Bohemia*, States of *Hungary*, of *Transylvania*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, &c. &c. But all these petty States, or Parliaments, being totally independent of, and consequently *Competitors* with, and *Rivals* to each other, never can act in Concert, or pursue one general Plan, or attend to one *common Interest*:—So that the Power of the Prince, which would have been too weak to have contended with them all, if all had been UNITED (like the parliament of *Great Britain*) in one *compass*, and *general Body*,—becomes an *Overmatch* for any one of them singly and disjointed from the rest:—And this is the true Reason, why the House of *Austria* governs all her Provinces with so high an Hand at this Day. In short, *Divide et impera*, explains the whole Mystery of this Affair:—And *Great Britain* may here see her own Picture, drawn to the Life, if ever she should consent to the Erection of Parliaments in *North America*, to be co-ordi-

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nate with her own; and at the same Time should allow these *North-Americans* to be *Co-partners* with herself in one common Empire.

BUT why do I labour to prove this Point? Mr. BURKE himself is as conscious, as I can be, of the dreadful Effects which most necessarily attend the Execution of his Scheme: Hear him therefore in his own Words:—"We know
" that the Emulations of such Parties, [to be
" created by the independent Parliaments of
" *North-America*] their Contradictions, their reciprocal Necessities, their Hopes and their
" Fears, *must* send them all in their turns to
" him who holds the BALANCE of the State.
" The Parties are the Gamesters, but Government keeps the Table, and is sure to be the
" Winner in the End. When this Game is
" played, I really think, it is more to be feared,
" that the [*American*] People will be exhausted,
" than that government will not be supplied."

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen! be pleased to compare these *Fears* of Mr. BURKE, "that
" the *Americans* will be too *lavish* in their
" Grants,—with the *Hopes* entertained by the
" Agent (just quoted from Monsieur De LOLME)
" that the *Americans* by Means of *liberal Grants*
" may recommend themselves to the good

* See his Speech, March 22, 1775, second Edition, Octavo.

"Graces of their Prince;"—and then you will have full Possession of all Dr. FRANKLIN's favourite Speculation for removing the Seat of Empire from hence to *North America*, and for abandoning the *British Isles* to the Care of Deputies, Vice Roys, and Lord Lieutenants. Many of you, I make no Doubt, have heard him declare, that the great Continent of *British America* (which, according to his Computation, will contain nearly ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS of Inhabitants in little more than a Century) ought to become the Seat of general Empire. And it might be easily gathered from the whole Turn of his Conversation that he thought it no very difficult matter in the Course of Things to bring this important Point to bear;—that is, to induce some future Sovereign of this Country to make the wished-for Exchange;—partly by the Obstacles which might be thrown in his Way, were he to persist in remaining here [Obstacles, of which we have an *egregious Specimen* already] and partly by the alluring Temptations which might be offered him to quit this petty Spot, and reside in *America*.—I say, many of you must have heard Dr. FRANKLIN haranguing after this Sort; or have seen Letters from him to the same Effect:—For that this was his darling Scheme, even before he came to reside in *England*, I have been well assured, as well as his favourite Topic ever afterwards. Therefore I
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will add, that by the Help of this Comment, we can explain many Passages in the Declarations of the grand *American* Congress, which otherwise must appear to be either nauseous Compliments, or gross Contradictions:—The Passages I refer to, are the Protestations so often and so solemnly repeated, that they [the *Americans*] have no Intention of separating from this Country; and that they have the purest Loyalty to the King, and the strongest Attachment to the illustrious House of *Hanover*. This Key therefore unlocks the whole Mystery of their (otherwise unaccountable) Proceedings. And as POPE said on another Occasion:

'Tis in the ruling Passion: There alone,
The Wild are constant, and the Cunning known.
This Clue, once found, unravels all the rest,
The Prospect clears, and CLODIO stands confest.

In the mean Time, because his Majesty is graciously disposed to join with *Great Britain* against *America* in this Contest for Empire, (for in Fact that is the real Dispute, whatever may be the Pretence) not only many among the *Americans*, but among *Englishmen* themselves, vent the bitterest Reproaches against him for being the best Friend and Protector of the Mother-Country. Surely Posterity will stand amazed at such a Procedure! The like Scenes of Infatuation and Ingratitude (not to mention Disloy-

alty and Rebellion) never yet disgraced the Annals of the World! And it seems to be reserved as a Mark of Infamy peculiar to the present Age, and our modern Race of Patriots, that while the Prince on the Throne is incessantly endeavouring to keep his People free, and to secure their Freedom more and more by all proper and constitutional Measures, such Numbers should be found amongst his Subjects, who are equally industrious to thwart his truly patriotic Designs, and to rush headlong into Slavery.

BUT as Providence very often brings the greatest Good out of the worst of Evils, let us not despair, but that these very Attempts, wicked and unnatural as they are, may be the Means of uniting all honest, and well-intentioned Men the firmer together, in order to support, and even to strengthen the present Constitution. For Example, the two great Islands of *Britain* and *Ireland*, which are only separated by a narrow Sea, ought not to be separated at all by different Governments, Laws, or Parliaments. No good Reason upon Earth can be given for such a Separation: And it has long been the ardent Wish of every true Patriot in both Nations, to see them united. Indeed, the best that can be said for the Continuance of the present absurd System is, that the City of *Dublin* would be a Sufferer by the Removal of the Court and Parliament:—I say, this is the very
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best Argument which can be urged: And yet this, has no Foundation at all, but in the Prejudices of the Populace, who are almost perpetually mistaking their own Interests. Even the City of *Dublin* would be a very great Gainer by such a Removal; for it would acquire *Industry* in Exchange for *Idleness*; and then the Hands of its Tradesmen, by being the Hands of the Diligent, would enrich each other by reciprocal Employment;—the Hands, I say, of those very Tradesmen, who, in their present State, are almost as poor, as the poorest in the Kingdom.—That this is the natural and necessary Course of Things, and not an idle Theory, or visionary Speculation, I appeal to Fact and daily Experience;—and I appeal, not only to the Case of *Edinburgh*, which is now three Times, at least, as rich and flourishing, as when it was the Residence of a Court, and of a Parliament; but I appeal also to almost every Town in *Ireland*: *Cork*, and *Belfast* for Example, have neither Courts, nor Parliaments; and yet their Merchants, Manufacturers, and Traders are much richer in Proportion to their Numbers, than those of *Dublin*: And what is still more extraordinary, those little Towns, which once thought themselves happy in procuring Barracks to be erected among them, in order to obtain, as they fondly imagined, *the Benefit of a great Flow of Money*, are now perfectly convinced, that Towns

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without Barracks, or Towns from which Barracks have been removed, are in a much more flourishing Condition, than those which have them.—Of so mischievous a Tendency is the Circulation of Money, when it becomes the Means of introducing Idleness, and of preventing Industry. For, reason as long as you will on the Subject, the actual State of Things will ever prove itself to be this, that Idleness is the Parent of Poverty, and Industry the only Source of real Riches.

BUT, my Lords and Gentlemen, this is not all, and my Scheme of an Union with *Ireland* is calculated not only to introduce Wealth, and to prevent Idleness in the single City of *Dublin*; but also to diffuse constitutional Strength and Firmness, and to create a Stability and Compactness throughout the whole Empire: Whereas Mr. BURKE's has as necessary a Tendency to weaken and disjoin every Part of it, and to sow Jealousies and Dissensions both at Home and Abroad, in the Mother-Country, and in the Colonies:—The unavoidable Consequence of which would be at the last, arbitrary and despotic Power. In one Word, the true Motto for my Scheme is, *Vis unita fortior*; and for his *Divide et impera*. Judge therefore, as Men who are more deeply concerned in preserving and improving the present Constitution, than any Class of men whatever;—judge, I say, whether Mr. BURKE's Scheme

or mine, in regard to *America*, ought to have the Preference. You have every Means of Information now at your Command: Your Birth, your Rank, and Education, lift you up much above the Prejudices of the Vulgar; whilst your patrimonial Estates and ample Fortunes screen you from a Multitude of those Temptations, to which other Men are grievously exposed. And yet, my Lords and Gentlemen, let me tell you, that if you will not exert yourselves on this trying Occasion, in some Degree proportionate to the Importance of the Cause now before you, perhaps it may never be in your Power to exert yourselves hereafter, when you will wish most ardently to do it. Remember, therefore, I beseech you, the Words, the *emphatic*, and perhaps even the *prophetic*, Words of a celebrated Partisan, whose Name I need not mention:—"Why, Gentlemen, will not you, who are *Men of great Landed Estates*, take an active Part in the present Disputes? Your Neutrality, I do assure you, will not protect you. For if you will still remain inactive at such a Crisis, what has happened before, will happen again; and the "*****s and the *****s who have but little to lose, but may have much to get in the Times of general Confusion, will certainly become "the great men of this Nation."

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

INDEED the Estates of the Church, we all know, will fall the first Sacrifice, should the Republican

Republican Party now prevail. But nevertheless, if you, my Lords and Gentlemen, should be so weak as to imagine, that Matters will stop there; and that your own large Possessions, your splendid Titles, your hereditary Honours, and ample Privileges will escape unhurt, amidst that general *Wreck* of private Property, and *Crush* of Subordination, which will necessarily ensue; you will be woefully mistaken:—And I must beg Leave to say, that you will have profited but very little, by what has been so well written in the Annals of this very Country, for your Instruction and Admonition. For depend upon it, the Use of *Committee-Men*, and the Business of *Sequestrators* are not yet forgot; depend upon it, I say, that Ways and Means are still to be found out, for the lowest of the People to get at the Possession of the greatest of your Estates, as well in these, as in former Times. Their Appetites are equally keen:—And if these hungry Patriots should succeed, after such an Example is set before your Eyes, who are you to blame but yourselves?—In one Word, you know, or ought to know, that even the tender Mercies of a Republic are cruel. Or, if you are not yet convinced of the Truth of this Assertion, look abroad into the World; nay, look into what is now doing by the Republican Congresses in *America*; and then see how you would approve such Men as these for YOUR MASTERS.

HERE

HERE THEREFORE I willingly close the whole Dispute between Mr. BURKE and me: And I most chearfully submit the Decision of his important Question to those (but to *those only*) who are the best qualified, the most able, and the most concerned to decide impartially. What therefore is to follow in this Treatise, is to be considered rather *ex abundanti*, than as strictly necessary for the Support of my Argument, and the Confutation of my Opponent. Yet, seeing that the following Points may serve to elucidate some of the former, and seeing that so much has been said, and such confident Boastings have been uttered, concerning the Advantages, and even the Imminesty of the Colony Trade; I will enter the more particularly into these Matters.

AND first of all, and previous to any Enquiry into the Fact, I enter a solemn Protest against the disingenuous Artifice, so often practised by the Partisans of *America*, viz. That of BEGGING THE QUESTION. They beg the Question, when they take for granted, that if *America* were separated from *Great Britain*, all commercial Inter-course would cease between the two Countries. For this is the very Point, which they ought to have proved, instead of taking it for granted. And prove it they never can, till they shall have first demonstrated, that the *Americans* will no longer adhere to their own Interest, when they shall

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shall be disonited from us. A difficult Task this! In regard to which, they will find all the World to be Unbelievers. Indeed I have already so effectually silenced this Plea in my Fourth Tract, from Page 203 to Page 220, [2d Edit. printed for RIVINGTON, &c.] that I hope I may be excused from repeating the same Things. And as the Arguments there urged, have never been attempted to be answered, notwithstanding so much Good-Will to do it, and that my Opponents most certainly would do it, if they could, the natural Conclusion is, *that they are UNANSWERABLE.*

THEREFORE I now enter upon the Subject itself; and as the Trade to *Holland and Germany* (and *more particularly to Hanover*) hath been frequently represented as being very inconsiderable, and of small Importance; I have for this very reason, selected this Trade from others, to make it the Subject of our Comparison with the Trade to all the revolted Provinces of *North-America.*

REMARK

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REMARK I.

ACCORDING to the above State of the Account, the Sum Total of the Value of the Exports to *Holland* and *Germany* alone, during a Period of nine Years, exceeded that to all the [present revolted] Provinces of *North America*, by no less than 10,233,103 *l.* 7s. 7d. which is more than ONE-THIRD of the Whole. And yet this very Period was more favourable to *American* Exports than any other: 1st, Because during this Period there was the greatest Emigration from *Europe* to *America*, and particularly from *Holland* and *Germany*, that can be remembered; and each Emigrant, if a Customer to *England*, whilst resident in *Europe*, not only swells the *American* Account by his Removal, but also sinks the *European*: So that he acts in a double Capacity, by adding Weight to one Scale, and by subtracting, at least an equal, if not a greater, from the other:—2dly, Because, during this Period, the Colonists, and more especially the four *New England* Governments, were preparing for a *Non-Importation* System; and therefore were storing their Magazines with great Quantities of Goods to serve for many Years. This Circumstance appears

An Account of the Value of the Exports from *England* to *Germany* and *Holland*; and all the Congress, for nine Years successively, viz. from *Christmas* 1763 to C

		From Christmas 1763 to Christmas 1764.			1765.			1766.			1767.			1768.		
		<i>Value of Exports.</i>			<i>Value of Exports.</i>			<i>Value of Exports.</i>			<i>Value of Exports.</i>			<i>Value of Exports.</i>		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Germany	—	2,264,315	3	9	1,869,465	18	8	1,811,268	2	3	1,506,293	10	11	1,499,732	0	
Holland	—	2,040,467	9	9	2,026,772	16	11	1,602,924	6	7	1,539,705	18	0	1,744,974	5	

The REVOLTED PROVINCES

Carolina	—	305,808	1	6	334,709	12	8	296,732	1	4	244,093	6	0	289,868	1	
New England's four Provinces	—	459,765	0	11	451,299	14	7	409,642	7	6	406,081	9	2	419,797	9	
New-York	—	515,416	12	1	382,349	11	1	330,829	15	8	417,957	15	5	482,930	1	
Pennsylvania	—	435,191	14	0	363,368	17	5	327,314	5	3	371,830	8	10	432,107	1	
Virginia and Maryland	—	515,192	10	6	383,224	13	0	372,548	16	1	437,628	2	6	475,954	0	

[To face Page 49.]

Superiority of the Value of the Exports

Holland; and also to those *North-American* Provinces, which are now under the Dominion of *Christmas* 1763 to *Christmas* 1772, distinguishing each Country, and each Year.

1767.	1768.		1769.		1770.		1771.		1772.		Totals.	
Exports.	Value of Exports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Exports.	
s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
93 10 11	1,499,732	0 4	1,338,866	9 8	1,272,569	0 4	1,316,492	1 4	1,354,181	6 6	14,233,183	13 9
05 18 0	1,744,974	5 8	1,658,551	13 1	1,766,333	10 2	1,685,397	16 0	1,997,815	1 4	16,060,942	17 6

Total of both Countries 30,294,126 11 3

D PROVINCES of *North-America*.

93 6 0	289,868	12 3	306,600	5 6	146,273	27 0	409,169	9 4	449,610	2 2	2,782,865	7 7
81 9 2	419,797	9 4	207,993	14 3	394,451	7 5	1,420,119	1 1	824,830	8 9	4,993,980	13 0
57 15 5	482,930	14 4	74,918	7 10	475,991	12 0	653,621	7 6	343,970	19 9	3,677,986	15 8
30 8 10	432,107	17 4	199,909	17 11	134,881	15 5	728,744	19 10	507,909	14 0	3,501,259	10 0
28 2 6	475,954	6 2	488,362	15 1	717,782	17 3	920,326	3 8	793,910	13 2	5,104,930	17 5

Totals of the revolted Provinces 20,061,023 3 8

of the Value of the Exports to *Holland* and *Germany* over the Exports to the revolted Provinces of *America* £. 10,233,103 7 7

on the very Face of the Account:—And, 3dly, Because the Business of Commercial Puffing, during this Period, was carried, by the Partisans of *America*, to a greater Height than ever, in order to make the *American* Trade appear to be of much more Consequence to this Nation, than it really is.—To explain this Artifice of Commercial Puffing, to such Persons who are not conversant in the Progress of Commercial Laws, I must beg their Attention to the following short Narrative.—Formerly the Kings of *England* established certain Duties or Taxes (generally Five per Cent. *ad Valorem*) both on the Import and Export of Goods, *merely by virtue of their own Prerogative*; and, as it was the *universal Practice* for every Prince to act in the same Manner, these Duties, or *customary Payments*, were therefore called the CUSTOMS,—the Place where these Duties were paid, the *Custom-House*, and the Officers who collected them the *Custom-House Officers*. In Process of Time, the Subjects gained a little more Liberty, so that the Duties which were originally imposed by virtue of the mere Prerogative of the Crown, were afterwards collected by the Authority of an *Act*, or *Acts* of the whole Legislature.

AND yet, notwithstanding this Change of Authority, there was very little Alteration in the System of Taxation: For *Exports* as well as *Imports* (in those Days of commercial Blindness) paid a
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Duty of about Five per Cent. * *ad Valorem*, as low down as the Reigns of CHARLES II. and JAMES II.—King WILLIAM was the first Prince who had a true Notion of introducing wise and beneficial Regulations into the System of Exportation: For he caused the Duties to be taken off from the Exports of *English* Woollen Manufactures, and of a few other Articles: Queen ANNE followed his good Example, and extended the same politic System a little farther: But it was reserved to the Reign of GEORGE I. and to the Administration of that *great* and *able* Minister, Sir ROBERT WALPOLE (whom the Traders, and the People always abused), to enrich this Country by Means of a general System of *judicious* Taxes, and salutary commercial Regulations. For in one single Act of Parliament in the Year 1722 (8th of G. I. Chap. 15.), there were about 196 Taxes repealed [see CROUCH's Book of Rates], Taxes which had been injudiciously laid, partly on Raw Materials coming in,

* Queen ELIZABETH sometimes raised this Duty to 20 and 25 per Cent. by Orders and Warrants issued from her Privy Council; that is, by her own sole and absolute Authority. Yet she was *good Queen Bess*: And her Days were *golden Days*. See also the shocking Number of Monopolies granted in her Reign, set forth at large in TOWNSHEND's *Collection*; or in Sir SIMON d'EWE's *Journal of Parliament*. See more particularly the Debates which passed in the 43d Year of her Reign, after a Struggle of upwards of 20 Years for abolishing these Monopolies.

but chiefly on *British* Manufactures going out. But though this excellent law was productive of the greatest Advantage to the Nation; yet it must be allowed, that, like many other good Things, it was the innocent Cause of introducing some Evil. For from that Time we may date the Origin of our modern *Puffing*, respecting the Export of Goods, which has spread but too generally ever since. *English* Manufactures, when entered in the Custom-House for Exportation, now pay no Tax or Duty; therefore this Circumstance becomes a Temptation to many Persons to make larger Entries for Exportation, than in Truth and Reality they ought to do. Vanity, and the Desire of appearing to be Men of large Dealings, and extensive Correspondencies, and perhaps other Motives still less justifiable, will but too well account for such Proceedings in the mercantile World. Consequently, in commercial *Puffing*, the Traders to *Holland* and *Germany*, and the Traders to *North America*, are much upon a Par: So that were they to accuse each other, it might be said of both,

Clodius accusat Machos, Catalina Cethegos.

BUT nevertheless in other Respects there is a wide Difference between them. For the Partisans of *America* are actuated not only by Self-Interest, or Vanity, but by Principles still
more

more powerful, viz. by such a Spirit of Enthusiasm, and a Zeal bordering on Phrenzy, as will stick at nothing to promote the Good of the Cause. Hence therefore we may reasonably infer, that though the Entries for Exportation to every Country are somewhat exaggerated, yet that those to *North America* are doubly so. Other Traders may probably consider these puffing Advertisements [I mean their exaggerated Entries for Exportation] as a Kind of Peccadillos, very allowable for the Promotion of their Interest; but an *American* Partisan views them in a much higher Light, viz. as *meritorious Acts done for the Good of his Country.*



REMARK



R E M A R K II.

AS we have been hitherto comparing the Value of the *Exports* to the Twelve *mal-content* Provinces of *North America*, with the Value of the Exports to *Holland* and *Germany*; let us in the next Place consider also the Nature of the *North American Imports*, if compared with those of other Countries.

Now all Imports may be divided into two Classes, viz. Raw Materials for the Employment of our own People, and taxable Objects for the Purposes of raising a Revenue.

In regard to the first of these,—if we should cast our Eyes on the Imports from * *Russia* only, will any One be so hardy as to maintain, that the Imports from *North America* are at all on a Par with them, in any Respect whatever? Timber,
for

* A few shallow, half-sighted Politicians, have objected to the Trade with *Russia*, because the Balance, according to their narrow Ideas, is visibly against us. But what Balance do they mean?—Not the Balance of *Industry*, for that is plainly in our Favour; or, in other Words, we export more *manufactured* Goods to *Russia*, than we receive from it. And as to the Balance of *Money*, they ought to have known, that it is much more beneficial to an industrious, commercial Country to import Raw Materials (*if it wants them*)
than

for Example, Iron, Hemp, Flax, and Flax Seed, Linen-Yarn, Skins, and Furs, Ashes, Tallow, Hair, Bristles, &c. &c.;—Can it be pretended, with any Appearance of Truth, that the Imports of these Articles (taking one with another) from *North America*, will bear any Comparison with those from *Russia*. And yet, to the Shame and Disgrace or an enlivened commercial State, several of these Raw Materials are taxed, if imported from *Russia*, in order to create a Monopoly to *North America*: And others, when imported from *America*, are not only allowed to be entered Duty-free, which is just enough; but also have enjoyed for many Years the Benefit of large and munificent Bounties given by the Parliament of *Great Britain*.—Given! To whom? To our non-represented Colonies: For it seems they will condescend to receive Bounties from us, though not represented, notwithstanding they make this very Circumstance a Plea or Pretence against bearing

than to import Gold and Silver; because there cannot be so many Hands employed in the manufacturing of these Metals, as in the working up of Timber, Iron, Hemp, Flax, &c. &c. to their respective Uses. It is amazing, how little these self evident Principles have been understood, or at least attended to by commercial Writers of some Note and Character, and particularly by JOSIAH GEE; according to whose Doctrine of the Balance of Trade, this Nation hath not been worth a single Shilling for almost these 100 Years.

any

any Share in our Burdens. However, all this is not sufficient to create that Monopoly in their Favour, which they, and their Adherents, have long had in Contemplation. For the Imports of Raw Materials from *Russia*, which are every Day increasing, exceed those from *North America* in Goodness, in Quantity, in Value, and in every Respect, to a very great Degree.

BUT I forgot: "Pitch and Tar, and Indigo, "are also Raw Materials of very great Consequence: And they are imported from *North America*, but not from *Russia*." True: Pitch and Tar, if imported from *Russia*, would have paid an high Duty; but when brought from *America*, they receive a very large Bounty. And as to Indigo, had it not been for the many Hundred Thousands of Pounds Sterling, which *Great Britain* has granted in Bounties and Premiums to promote the Culture of this Article in the *Carolinas* and *Virginia* [a tenth Part of which Sum would have served for the Cultivation of a better Sort on the Coast of *Africa*]; I say, had it not been for this continual Fostering, and expensive Nursing, probably not an Ounce of it would have been raised in *North America*. And even as it is, the Indigo of *Carolina*, &c. is, generally speaking, of a Quality much inferior to that, which comes from other Countries. So much therefore as to Raw Materials,—and let this suffice in respect to the great Returns
of

of our Colonies towards us, for making so many impolitic restraining Laws against ourselves, and for granting them so many Monopolies, and such extensive Bounties.

THE next Head of Inquiry is, what *taxable Objects* do we receive from *North-America*, if compared with the Taxables of other Countries? Mr. BURKE asserts, Page 97, 2d Edit. "That if *America* gives us *taxable Objects*, on "which we lay our Duties here, and gives us at "the same Time a Surplus by a foreign Sale "of her Commodities to pay the Duties on "these Objects which we tax at Home, *she has* "performed her Part to the British Revenue."

WELL then, according to this Doctrine, we are first to suppose, that *North-America* supplies us with great Quantities of taxable Objects;—and secondly, that by so doing, she hath performed her Part to the *British* Revenue; and therefore ought not to be obliged to contribute any further. Now I am so unhappy as to differ from the patriotic Orator in both these respects; that is, I first deny his Premises;—and then adly, granting even his Premises, I cannot admit of his Conclusion. First, then, I do maintain, that *North-America* doth not supply *Great-Britain* with great Quantities of taxable Objects: For perhaps hardly any civilized Country in the World, of equal Extent, and under the same Parallels of Latitude, is so barren in

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that

that Respect, as *North-America*.—At present, I can recollect but two taxable Objects among all her Stores, viz. Rice and Tobacco. In respect to Rice, I do allow that it hath been customary to tax it; but as it is a raw Material, and an Article of Food, it ought never to have been taxed. And the Legislature hath done wisely at present in repealing that Tax, which heretofore was laid on the Home Consumption of it. The Fact is, that when Corn is dear, Rice becomes a good Succedaneum; but when the former is cheap, the latter will not be used in any Quantities here, in *England*: For *English* Stomachs will never prefer Rice to Wheat. In respect to that Rice, which is carried to the rest of *Europe*, it ought to be remembered, that it pays no Duty at all, if exported South of Cape *Finisterre*. And as to the Duty which is retained on the Re-exportation of Rice to the Northward of Cape *Finisterre*, it is so very trifling and inconsiderable, that it doth not deserve to be mentioned in a general and national View.

In regard to Tobacco, I admit it to be a very proper Object of Taxation. But here again, that which is re-exported pays but little Duty, if any at all. And with respect to that which is used and consumed at Home, when the many Frauds attending it, together with the Expence of collecting, are taken into the Account, the clear Balance will not be, in any Degree, so great as is vulgarly imagined.

BUT

BUT granting, that this Branch of the Revenue is considerable, nay that it is *very* considerable; yet there are a few unlucky Questions to be asked on this Head, which it will puzzle Mr. BURKE and all his Adherents to answer in such a Manner as would do any Credit or Service to their Cause. For Example; has the *English* Legislature done any Thing towards favouring this *American* Tobacco-Trade, and raising it up to its present Height? Yes, it has; *England* has granted a Monopoly to the *Americans* against herself, by severely prohibiting, in several Acts of Parliament, the Cultivation of Tobacco in *England*: So that at the worst, we have one Remedy still in reserve, viz. the taking off this Prohibition, should the *Americans* be so wrathfully-minded as to resolve never to sell us any more Tobacco. On this Ground therefore I still proceed; and as the Friends of Mr. BURKE (if not he himself) are so very forward in exclaiming against the Restraints and Hardships, under which they pretend that *America* has so long groaned;—I ask, why are they so totally silent concerning the many Restraints and Discouragements which *England* also hath long and patiently suffered in order to enrich *America*? And where is the Candor, or Impartiality, of such a Conduct? Again,—if we have granted the *Americans* this Monopoly, in order to increase their Trade, and to cause their Provinces to flourish; what Effects

hath it produced, in regard to the Sum Total of our own Revenue? And what is the Amount of the whole Duty on Tobacco? Is it equal to the Duties paid on the simple Article of Tea,—or of Wines and Brandies;—or, in short, of mere Fruit for our Mince-Pies, and Plum-Puddings, for our Tables and Deserts? No, by no Means, it is not equal to any one of these *general* Articles: For the Duty paid on the Importation of Fruit alone greatly surpasses it. And yet we have granted no Monopolies, no Premiums, and no Bounties either to *China*, or to *France*, to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. &c. nor are these Countries, to which we have so vast a Trade, and from which we draw so great a Revenue, **ENGLISH COLONIES.**

BUT nevertheless, I will now suppose, contrary to all Proof and Matters of Fact, that the Revenue of the taxable Objects imported from *North-America*, was the greatest of all others;—what Inference is to be drawn from this Concession? And doth it at all follow from such Premises, that the *North-Americans* must, or ought to enjoy all the Privileges of *Englishmen*, without contributing any Thing towards the general Support, merely because we carry on an advantageous Trade with them, or have raised a Tax on their Commodities? Surely no: For by the same Rule, we must unite and incorporate with, we must protect and defend, the *Chinese*,

these, the French, the Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, &c. &c. for the same Reasons, and on the same Account. A Proposition this, which is too big with Nonsense and Absurdity, to be seriously maintained.

I will therefore dismiss the present Remark, with putting my Reader again in Mind, that let the Trade to *North-America* be what it may, of little Importance, or otherwise; it is a mere begging the Question, and a most *disingenuous Artifice* to insinuate (as all the Advocates for *America* now do) that this Trade will be lost, if a Separation from the Colonies should ensue. On the contrary, it is much more probable, that, when all Parties shall be left at full Liberty to do as they please, our *North-American* Trade will rather be increased, than diminished by such a Measure. Because it is Freedom, and not Confinement, or Monopoly, which increases Trade. And sure I am that, on this Subject, History and past Experience, as well as Reason and Argument, are clearly on my Side.

REMARK



R E M A R K III.

THE Case of Emigrations from *Germany* and *Holland*, hath been in Part considered already: But as the continual Emigrations from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* (which I will always consider as *one* Country) have something more particularly prejudicial in their Nature, if compared with others, I hope the Reader will not think it lost Time, if I give them in this Place a distinct Consideration.

A Set of Labourers or Tradesmen resided lately in *Great-Britain*, or *Ireland*; and earned their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows. Their natural, or artificial Wants might be summed up under the three great, and comprehensive Articles, of Food, Raiment, and Dwelling. In respect to *Food*, including drinkables as well as eatables, they paid for it by their Labour and Wages; and consequently were the Means of employing all those different Trades, both in Town and Country, which were concerned in, or connected with, the raising of Corn, or the rearing of Sheep and Cattle, the making of Bread, Butter, Cheese, Malt, and Malt-Liquors, Cyder, &c. &c. also in the fattening, killing, dressing, or preparing of Flesh,
Fish,

Fish, Fowl, &c. &c. and in the raising of all Sorts of Garden-Stuff, and other Eatables: The like might be observed in regard to *Raiment*, traced from the raw Material up to the perfect Manufacture, and including every Article of Dress, and all the Trades dependent on, and supported by it, throughout all its Stages: *Dwelling* is the last Article; in which Estimate ought to be included not only the original Materials for framing the Structure of the House, but also its successive Repairs; together with all Kinds of Household Goods from the highest to the lowest Piece of Furniture, and their continual Wear and Tear.

THESE Persons, who have been thus useful to their Country, and have contributed to its Trade and Riches, both by paying their own Rents and Taxes, and also by enabling others to pay theirs;—these Persons, I say, have been inveigled away to leave this Country, and to settle in *North-America*.—Here therefore I ask this plain Question, What Recompence can they possibly make in *America*, for the Loss which hath been occasioned by their leaving *England*? And what Gains will accrue to the Mother-Country by this flourishing State of her Colonies? Begin therefore wherever you please;—examine, I beseech you this Matter to the Bottom, and mark the Consequences. *Food*, for Example, consisting of its various Kinds, and including

including Eatables as well as Drinkables, *common Food*, I say, must certainly be raised and manufactured on the Spot; for a Man cannot wait for his Dinner till it comes from *England*. Similar Observations will likewise extend to the chief Part of every Article respecting *Raiment* or Cloathing;—not forgetting also *Housing* and Furniture. For in all these Respects, the principal Quantity, and the Bulk of the Goods, Manufactures, or Provisions, must be procured from adjacent Places, and not from a Country 3000 Miles off. Perhaps indeed a few, a very few Elegancies and Ornaments of Dress or Furniture, or of the Dainties of the Table may still be imported from the Mother-Country. But alas! What are they, if compared with the Whole? Perhaps they would not amount to more than a twentieth Part of the general Consumption.— And most certain it is, that if these Emigrants should not settle near the Sea-Coasts of *America*, but wander higher up the Country for Hundreds of Miles, in pursuit of fresh *unpatented* Tracts of Land, (which most New-comers are desirous of doing,) it would then not be a *fortieth* Part of what they would have either used, consumed, or worn, had they still remained Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*: So little Cause hath the Mother-Country to rejoice at this rapid Progress of the Population of her Colonies, arising from, or caused by, Emigrations.

BUT

BUT here, I know, it will be said, because it hath been very often said already, "That tho' these Emigrants might not employ as many Persons or mechanic Trades here at Home, as they did before they left *England*; yet they will employ more Shipping and Navigation, and consequently more Sailors than heretofore: And Sailors are the Defence, Sailors are the Buiwark of the Nation," &c. &c. Now in order to detect this Fallacy, as well as the rest, I will here state a Case, which must open People's Eyes, if any Thing can, respecting even the Articles of Seamen, Shipping, and Navigation.

SUPPOSE 1000 Tradesmen with their Families, Watch-Makers for Instance, settled on one Spot somewhere in the Neighbourhood of *London*, [I only mention *Watch-Makers*, because it is computed, that about 1000 Families, or one third of the City of *Geneva* are supposed to be of that Profession.] Now the first Thing which would attract our Notice respecting Navigation, is to lay in a Provision of Sea-Coals: And a yearly Supply of this Commodity for 1000 Families would employ a good deal of Shipping: Fish would be the next Article, Sea-Fish especially, whether fresh or salt, in respect to which a good many Sailors one Time or other must be, or must have been employed: After this, the like Observation will extend to Cyder, and to

other Articles brought Coast-wise, also to Wines, Brandies, Rum, Sugars, Fruits, Oils, &c. &c. imported from Abroad: Likewise to Timber of various Kinds for building or repairing, also for making a Variety of Household Goods, to Iron, Hemp, Linen Cloth, and other Commodities, especially those of the bulky Kind: Now here I ask, Is it possible to conceive, that, were this Group of Manufacturers to take Flight, like a Swarm of Bees, and settle in some of the Towns or Provinces of *North-America*, they either would, or could employ as many *English* Seamen in their *new* Situations, as they do at present in their *old* ones? And can any Man be so absurd as to maintain such a Paradox? [Remember I limit the Matter to *English* Seamen only; for as to *Americans*, let their Number be what it may, *Great Britain* never was advantaged by them. Not to mention, that several of the *American* Provinces have disputed, or rather denied, long before the present Disturbances began, the Right of pressing Sailors for the Navy; though it is well known, that this is the only Method whereby a Navy can be manned; and though that eminent Whig, that upright, learned, and truly patriotic Lawyer [Judge FOSTER] hath demonstratively proved in his Law-Tracts this Right to be as legally and constitutionally vested in the Crown, as any Right whatever.]

I will

I WILL therefore take this Point relating to Sailors for granted; [at least till the contrary shall be proved,] and then it will follow, that *British* or *Irish* Emigrations are to be considered as being very unfavourable to the Increase of *English* Sailors, as well as of *English* Manufacturers; and that the Loss and Detriment to the Mother-Country are very great in both Respects.

BUT here a Difficulty of another Kind, and from a different Quarter, will probably arise. It is this:—Granting that Emigrations are bad Things in all Respects:—granting that they tend to diminish the Number of your Sailors, as well as of your Manufacturers? yet how can you prevent this Evil? And what Remedy do you propose for curing the People of that Madness which has seized them for Emigrations?—I answer.—Even the Remedy which hath been so often, and all along proposed, *A total Separation from North America*. For most certain it is, that as soon as such a Separation shall take Place, a Residence in the Colonies will be no longer a desirable Situation. Nay, it is much more probable, that many of those who are already settled there, will wish to fly away, than that others should covet to go to them. And indeed we begin to find this Observation not a little verified at present, a considerable Re-emigration (if I may use the Term) having already taken place. In short, when the *English* Go-

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vernment,

vernment, which was the only Center of Union, and the only Bond of Peace, shall be removed, Faction will rise up against Faction, Congress against Congress, and Colony against Colony; and then the Southern Provinces will find to their Cost, that they have been egregiously duped and bubbled by the Northern; then they will perceive, that they have no other Alternative, but either to submit to the tyrannical Usurpations of those *canting, hypocritical Republicans*, whom they used both to hate and despise; or else to implore that Help, Defence, and Protection of the Parent State, which they now so wantonly and ungratefully reject and oppose:—In either of these Situations, and under such Circumstances, there is no Reason to fear, that many of our People will flock to *North America*.



REMARK

~~CHAP. II. OF THE INTEREST OF THE LANDED GENTILITY.~~

REMARK IV.

PREJUDICES and Prepossessions are stubborn Things in all Cases; but in none more peculiarly obstinate, than in relinquishing detached Parts of an unwieldy, extended Empire; there not being, I believe, a single Instance in all History, of any Nation surrendering a distant Province voluntarily, and of free Choice, notwithstanding it was greatly their Interest to have done it. The *English* in particular have given remarkable Proofs of their Unwillingness in this Respect. For tho' it was undeniably their Interest to have abandoned all the Provinces which they held in *France*, yet they never gave up one of them, till they were compelled to it by Force of Arms. Now indeed, and at this Distance of Time, we see clearly, that our Forefathers were wretched Politicians in endeavouring to retain any one of the *French* Provinces, which, if it was a little one, would be a continual Drain, and perhaps an increasing Expence; and if it was a great one, might grow up to be a Rival, and become the Seat of Empire. I say, we can see these Things clearly enough at present: Yet alas! what Advantages do we derive from this Discovery? And what

Application

Application do we make of such historical *Mementos* to the Business of the present Day? The remotest of our Provinces in *France* were hardly 300 Miles distant from our own Coasts; the nearest of those in *America* are about 3000. The Provinces in *France* were already fully peopled, and peopled for the most part by Inhabitants extremely well affected at that Time to the *English* Government: Whereas the Deserts of *America* require first to be peopled by Draughts either from ourselves, or from our *European* Customers; and then when these Emigrants have been settled for a Generation or two, they become native *Americans*, who naturally forget the Supremacy of that Country, with whose Government they have so little Connections, from whose Seat of Empire they are so far distant, whose ruling Power they so seldom feel (and therefore do not regard), and consequently whose Claims they consider as so many audacious Attempts to rob them of their beloved Independence.

BUT the Absurdity of our present Conduct in not abandoning the *rebellious* Provinces of *North America*, becomes still more glaring, when we consider farther, (what we now find by Experience to be true) that we can live and flourish, even in our commercial Capacity, without the Assistance of these refractory Colonies. For though it doth by no Means

Means follow, that we should be destitute of their Trade, if each *American* Province was erected into a separate and independent State; nay, tho' the contrary hath been made to appear by such a Chain of Evidences, as no Man hitherto hath attempted to break or weaken, yet, granting the worst, granting even that these *North Americans* traded with us as little after a Separation as they do at present, still it is possible that we may then live, because it is certain we do now live without them; and do not only live, but also enjoy as many of the Comforts and Elegancies, not to mention the Profusions and Luxuries of Life, as any Nation ever did, and more than we ourselves did heretofore.

THEREFORE (to be more particular on this Head, for surely it is a most important one) we were gravely told, that as soon as ever the *Americans* should shut their Ports against us, Famine to our Manufacturers, Bankruptcy to our Merchants, Destruction and Desolation to our Sea-port Towns, must inevitably ensue. Well, the *Americans* have now shut their Ports for a considerable Time against the Admission of *English* Manufactures. And what has ensued? Nothing, that I know of, so very dismal or so very tragical; and none of those *black* and *bitter* Days, with which we are threatened, have yet appeared. Nay, according to the Accounts received from the principal manufacturing Places
and

and Districts throughout the Kingdom, it uniformly appears that Trade was never brisker in most Articles; and that it is not remarkably dead in any:—Moreover it is likewise certain, from the same Accounts, that a much greater Stagnation hath been frequently felt, even at Times when every Port in *America* was open to us, than is felt at present.

HOWEVER, if these Partisans of *America* should cavil at these Accounts, and dispute their Authority, we have others yet to produce, which surely must carry Conviction (almost in Spite of Prejudice) as soon as they are perused; [unless indeed it can be imagined, that the present wicked Ministry have entered into a Plot to charge themselves Debtors to the Public for almost TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING *more than they received*, merely to plague and confound the poor Patriots.]

The Account I am now going to lay before the Reader, is the gross Produce of the Excise for the Year 1775, ending at the 5th of *July* last, compared with the like gross Produce of the preceding Year 1774, ending at the like Period.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Gross Produce of the Year 1775,	5,479,695	7	10
Gross Produce of the Year 1774,	5,224,899	7	10½
Increased Produce of the Year 1775,	254,795	19	11½

Now,

Now it appears by the Particulars of the Account, that what chiefly caused this great Increase, was the greater Quantity made, consumed, or used of Low Wines and Spirits,—of the *London* Brewery,—of Malt, Hops, Cyder, and Coaches, in the Year 1775, ending at the 5th of *July*, than in the preceding Year. For as to several other Articles, there was a remarkable Deficiency, especially in the Excise on Tea, and on Liquors imported into the * Out-Ports; both which Branches, if put together, amount to no less than 79,380*l.* 13*s.* 9½*d.*—And yet, notwithstanding this great Loss in two such capital Articles, the Produce of the others before-mentioned so much exceeded their usual Income, that the whole Balance of the Year was, as I said before, 254,795*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.* Now as our common People, our Artificers, and mechanic Tradesmen, our Journeymen, Day-Labourers, &c. &c. are the principal Consumers of, or Customers for these Articles (Coaches excepted), we may, and ought to pronounce, that these numerous Bodies of Men were not

* I am told, that this Deficiency of the Excise this Year, on Liquors Imported into the Out-Ports, is owing to a new Species of Smuggling lately put in Practice, whereby the Revenue is grossly defrauded. If so, the Balance would have been still greater, had all the Duties on Rum, and other Liquors imported into the Out-Ports, been justly and fairly paid; or at least paid as fairly and justly as usual.

in that starving Condition (which it was foretold they should be), when they could so much exceed their usual (and for the most Part *unnecessary*) Gratifications in Spirituous Liquors, and Porter, Ale, strong Beer, and Cyder, as to raise such a Surplus of Revenue. And in respect to the Increase in the Coach-Tax (which was nearly 2000*l.*) surely this is a plain Proof likewise, that our Merchants, principal Traders, and Manufacturers (who were all to be infallibly ruined) are not in that melancholy Situation, as hath been foreboded of them by the *American* false Prophets;—I say, the Proof is plain, seeing that so many new Carriages have been set up, instead of the former being put down. And I think, I may take for granted, that it is the Trading, and not the Landed-Interest, which sets up most new Carriages.

UPON the Whole, therefore, and in whatever Light Things are considered, it evidently appears that we can have but little, or nothing to lose; but must have a great deal to get, or (which is the same thing) much to save, and many Dangers to escape, by a total Separation from the rebellious Provinces of *North-America*. The History of all Nations, and of all Ages,—our own Experience respecting *France*,—the melancholy Situation at this Day of the once populous and flourishing Kingdom of *Spain*,—the present Demands of our Manufactures for Exportation,

portation,—the State of Parties among us, and the Growth of republican Principles, all, all conspire to prove, that we ought to get rid of such an onerous, dangerous, and expensive Connection as soon as possible. In one Word, the longer the present System is persevered in, the worse Things will necessarily grow, and the riper for Destruction; it being morally impossible that they should mend; for the Fire, if even smothered for the present, will break out again with fresh Violence; and the sound Parts of our Constitution will be in great Danger of being tainted by the Gangrene of *American Republicism*.



P O S T S C R I P T.

IN a Note at the Bottom of Page 52, (2d Edition) of my Letter to Mr. BURKE, I expressed myself in the following Manner: "The Instances which Mr. BURKE has brought, [at Pages 74 and 75 of his Speech, 2d Edit. 8vo.] "to prove that the Colonies, or rather that a "few out of the many Colonies, have been "liberal in their Grants to *Great Britain*, during the Continuance of a privateering, smuggling, trucking, and huckstering *American* "Sea-War, in which they were sure to be "the greatest Gainers, shall be particularly "considered in an ensuing Treatise, An Address "to the Landed Interest of *Great-Britain* and "*Ireland*."

THE Minutes which I took at that Time relative to this Affair, and which I intended to have inserted in the Body of this Treatise, were the following, that the leading Men in the Government of the Province of *Massachusetts*, had, some Time before their famous Expedition against *Cape Breton*, been guilty of certain Mal-Practices in the Administration of public Affairs, for which they were in Danger of being called

called to an Account. That in order to divert the Storm, and to throw a Barrel to the Whale, they projected the Plan of an Expedition, knowing the Temper of the *English*, and their Rage for Conquests. Therefore, hearing that the Fortifications of *Cape Breton* were very ruinous, and the Garrison both weak and mutinous for Want of Pay, Cloathing, and Provisions, they bent their Forces against this Place. The Scheme succeeded, and *Cape Breton* was yielded up; but the Joy of the *English* Nation knew no Bounds: For the People, from the highest to the lowest, were so intoxicated with Notions of the Importance of this Port [tho' now it is evident, that it is a very useless one, if compared with others], that they forgot every other Idea in the general Transport; so that the Planners and Conductors of the Expedition, instead of their being called to an Account for their former Misdemeanors, found themselves caressed and applauded by the whole Nation; and to crown all, the Parliament itself voted a prodigious Sum of Money to reimburse the *New-Englanders* for their Expences, and their Services in this glorious Work.

THIS, I say, or to this Effect, was the Account which I received;—and which I believe in my own Mind, will be found to be for the most part very true, when it can be very thoroughly *examined into*. But as I have been hurried,

ried, by the *early* Meeting of Parliament; to publish the present Treatise at least Three Months sooner than intended, I cannot at present *authenticate* Facts and Dates in the Manner I wish to do, in an Affair of such Importance. Therefore I give this public Notice, that I build nothing on the present Narration; and I only offer it (because not corroborated by sufficient Evidence) as a probable Case, and as my own Opinion.

INDEED I have a particular Reason for acting in this cautious Manner; seeing that I have suffered already by making a Slip in an Affair of this Nature, which in any other Cause or Controversy, would have been reckoned to be a very *venial* one. The Case was this: In the First Edition of my Fourth Tract, I had accused Dr. FRANKLIN with having acted a very disingenuous Part, in opposing and denying the Authority of the *British* Parliament, to lay a Tax [the Stamp-Duty] on *America*, when he himself had solicited to be employed as an Agent in the Collection of that very Tax. In Letters which passed between us, he denied the Charge, asserting, First, That he did not make Interest for a Place in the Stamp-Office, till the Bill was passed into a Law:—And, 2dly, That the Place, for which he asked, was not for himself, but for a Friend, one Mr. HUGHES, who was accordingly appointed by Mr. GRENVILLE. Now in

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Consequence of this Information, I omitted in the next Edition, the whole Paragraph, and said nothing, either *pro* or *con*, particularly relative to Dr. FRANKLIN. And surely, every Thing considered, and the *faux pas* of Dr. FRANKLIN concerning the *stolen* Papers of Mr. WHEATLEY duly weighed, one would have thought, that I had made Satisfaction fully sufficient to almost any Man in such a Case, whose Pretensions to *nice* Honour might have been much better founded than those of Dr. FRANKLIN. But, it seems, I was mistaken: For before he left *England*, I was called on in Print, to make Reparation to his much injured Character: And in his Absence, his Agents and Confederates, the Monthly Reviewers, have done the same*.

HERE therefore, I appeal to the Public, whether I have not advanced as far already in this
Affair,

* The Monthly Reviewers for *January* having challenged me in the Name of, and as Agents for Dr. FRANKLIN, to publish the Letters which passed between him and me; I will here comply with their Demand as far as relates to the *Matter of Fact*. In a Letter of Dr. FRANKLIN's dated *London, March 2. 1774*, is the following curious Paragraph:

"Some Days after the Stamp-act was passed, to which I had given all the Opposition I could with Mr. GRENVILLE, I received a Note from Mr. WHEATLEY his Secretary [the same WHEATLEY whose Papers were afterwards stolen, and found to be in the Possession of Dr. FRANKLIN] desiring to see me the next Morning. I waited upon him accordingly, and found with him several other Colony-agents.

"He

80 ADDRESS AND APPEAL TO

Affair, as there was need for me to have done; supposing even (which is supposing a great deal) that every Thing which Dr. FRANKLIN said was strictly true: For granting that he did not solicit for that Place in particular, yet it is a most undeniable Fact, that at the very Instant when he was declaiming at the Bar of the House of Commons, against the Authority of Parliament, he himself was an *American* Revenue Officer,

“ He acquainted us, that Mr. GRENVILLE was desirous to
 “ make the Execution of the Act as little inconvenient and
 “ disagreeable to the *Americans* as possible; and therefore did
 “ not think of sending Stamp-officers from hence, but wished
 “ to have *discreet* and *reputable* Persons appointed in each
 “ Province from among the Inhabitants, such as would be
 “ *acceptable* to them. For as they were to pay the Tax, he
 “ thought Strangers should not have the Emoluments. Mr.
 “ WHEATLEY therefore wished us to name for our respective
 “ Colonies, informing us, that Mr GRENVILLE would be
 “ obliged to us for pointing out to him *honest* and *respectable*
 “ Men, and would pay *great Regard* to our Nomination. By
 “ this plausible and apparently candid Declaration, *we were*
 “ *drawn in to nominate*: And I named, for our Province, Mr.
 “ HUGHES, saying at the same Time, that I knew not whe-
 “ ther he would accept of it: I was only sure, that if he did,
 “ he would *execute the Office faithfully*. I soon after had
 “ Notice of his Appointment.”

The Colony-agents were, it seems, *drawn in*: Yes, and easily too, without even the Farce of a Mock-resistance.—But to do what?—To recommend *honest* and *responsible* Men for carrying into Execution an *unconstitutional* Act for enslaving their native Country. For this was the very Language which had been held with respect to the Stamp-act but a few Days before. Nay, Dr. FRANKLIN, in particular, was so far from having any scruples of Conscience on that Head, that he not only recommended a Person to the Employment, but officiously declared, before he was asked, that his Friend would execute the Office faithfully;—that is, would faithfully execute his Part towards rivetting the Chains on dear *America*: O Liberty! O my Country!

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in a very lucrative Post, created by parliamentary Authority: He was a Post-Master General in *North-America*; and the Tax, which he collected, and for which he was accountable, was an *internal*, as well as *external* Tax. So that in short, in every, or in any Light, his Conduct was not of the spotless Kind; nor was my Accusation of Disingenuity against him the less true, whether he had solicited a Place in the Stamp-Office, or not.

While I am writing this,—a Paragraph, cut out of a News-paper, and dated from *Salisbury*, *October 15*, is laid before me, which I am positively told, is reckoned to be UNANSWERABLE. Now I have known so many of these UNANSWERABLES to shrink to nothing, when examined with any due Care and Attention, that I own I am not much frightened at the Appearance of this new *American* GOLIATH. However, let us approach this formidable Champion a little nearer.

“THE *Americans*,” says the News-Writer, “in their Addresses to the Public, urge as a Reason against parliamentary Taxation, the *great Disadvantages* they incur by submitting to such numerous Restrictions in Trade, which they deem a Burden equal to, if not greater than Taxation: And they also estimate, that that Mode of contributing to the Support of the *English* Nation, is, upon the whole, more beneficial than

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“ if they were to pay their Share by being
 “ equally taxed with the Subjects of the Mother-
 “ Country: But to be obliged to submit to
 “ those numerous Restraints in Trade, and at
 “ the same Time to be subject to a parliamen-
 “ tary Taxation, they think is the highest De-
 “ gree of Oppression.

“ THE *Irish* submit to parliamentary Re-
 “ straints in Trade; but then, in return, they
 “ are exempted from Taxation. Why then
 “ should the *Americans* be burdened with both,
 “ in similar Circumstances.”

HERE the whole Matter of Complaint is re-
 duced to two heads; First, That the *Americans*,
 by being restrained in their Trade, are thereby
 in Effect taxed, and therefore ought not to be
 taxed a second Time :

AND 2dly, That this Hardship seems to be
 the more oppressive, because the *Irish*, under si-
 milar Circumstances, are exempted from Taxa-
 tion.

WITH respect to the first Head, it is a mere
Begging of the Question. For I have proved be-
 yond Contradiction, that the *Americans* are not,
 in *Fact* and *Reality*, restrained either in their
 Exports or Imports, except in a very few Ar-
 ticles; and that they now enjoy the very best
 Market which *Europe* can afford, see my 4th
 Tract, Page 202—209. I have proved also,
 that *Great-Britain* hath restrained herself in Fa-

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vour of *America* in Articles of at least as great Value and Importance, as those in which she hath restrained *America* in Favour of *Great-Britain*. See more particularly my 3d Tract, Page 119—121. Surely therefore these Things ought to have been taken into Consideration, and not to have been passed over, as if they had never been mentioned: And it is exceedingly unfair and disingenuous to remember every Thing which makes on one Side of a Question, and to forget the rest.

2dly, WITH respect to the other Head of Complaint, viz. That *Ireland* is exempted from Taxation, while such extraordinary Efforts are made for taxing *America*, I hope what follows will be as full an Answer to this Complaint, as what has been already given was to the former.

FIRST therefore, I observe, that with respect to the Claim of the legislative Authority, which the Parent State makes over *Ireland* as well as *America*, both Countries are exactly on the same Footing: See the 7th and 8th of WM. III. C. 22, § 9. :—And also Lord ROCKINGHAM's Act itself, respecting the Claims of the Mother-Country over *America*:—See likewise the Declaratory Act of 6 GEO. I. C. 5, respecting *Ireland*.

2dly, THE Mother-Country hath not only asserted, but maintained her Claims alike over both Countries, in the Affair of laying a ge-

neral Post-Tax on all Parts of the *British* Empire; so that in this Respect likewise both Countries are on a Par.

BUT here I allow follows a wide Difference, which I will endeavour to account for, viz. The *British* Parliament never attempted to lay any internal Tax, except the Post-Tax, on *Ireland*; whereas it is well known, that the *British* Parliament did attempt to lay an internal Tax on *America*.

Now to account for this *seeming* Partiality, I have the following Points to offer; and I intreat my Readers to attend particularly to them.

1. IRELAND never plunged us into any Wars since the Revolution; whereas *America* hath involved us in two, the most bloody and expensive that ever this Nation experienced; the last of which brought on a Debt of 70,000,000 l. Sterling, the Interest of which we are now paying.

2. IRELAND doth not drain us of any Sums of Money to support and maintain its civil and military Establishments; whereas *America* drains us for those Purposes of upwards of 300,000 l. annually.

3. IRELAND drains us of no Money, by Way of *Bounty* on the Importation of her Goods, or natural Produce into this Kingdom; whereas *America* hath drained us of at least 1,000,000 l.

Sterling

Sterling for Bounties on Pitch and Tar, on Lumber, Indigo, &c. &c. within a few Years.

4. IRELAND is continually burdened with large Pensions, some to Princes of the Blood, some to other Persons, and some to flaming Patriots: For even Patriots will accept of Pensions if they can get them, and then exclaim most bitterly—O Liberty, O my Country! Whereas *America* is totally free from this Species of Taxation as far as I am able to trace the Matter.

MANY other Articles might have been enumerated, particularly the Restraint formerly laid upon the *Irish* fishing on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and taken off only the last Session. But surely these are full enough; because these, I hope, will sufficiently shew, that there ought to be a wide Difference put, on every Principle of Equity and Justice, between the Case of *Ireland* and that of *America*; and that the two Countries are by no Means in similar Circumstances.

WHAT is now to follow, is added at the Request of a foreign Nobleman, whose good Sense and Penetration led him to discern, that a Crisis was certainly approaching, in which the Fate of this Country will be determined; and therefore wished to know, what was the Strength of each Party, and the Amount of the Forces on either Side.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A

General Muster of the Forces

BOTH FOR AND AGAINST

The Present Government.

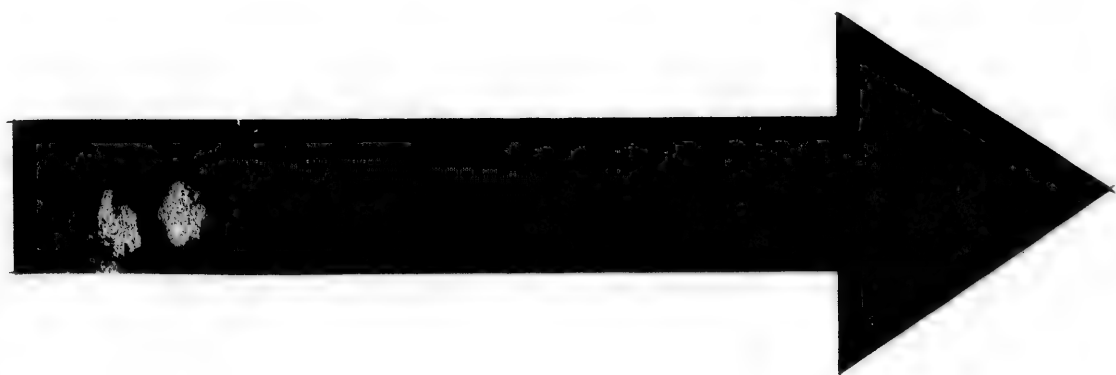
*PARTIES for overturning the present Constitution,
and for setting up something in its Stead, for
which we have not yet a Name.*

1st, **T**HE Idle and Dissolute among the common People are for throwing the present System into Anarchy and Confusion. They have ardently wished these many Years, for some Kind of levelling Scheme, whereby they might enrich themselves at the Cost of their Masters, and rob and plunder with impunity. If Mr. WILKES, or any other modern Patriot, can lead them into this Path of Glory, they will joyfully follow such a Leader, and become his devoted Fellow-Labourers, in the same good Work; but if not, they will forsake him with as little Ceremony as they have done some others, and look out for a new Leader.

2dly.

2dly, THAT Species among the *Whigs* which is properly *Republican*, is violently for a Change of Government, suitable to such Principles; and these Men are now become of some Consequence, not so much on the Score of their Numbers, as on Account of their enthusiastic Zeal, and of their breaking through every Tie of Honour, Honesty, and Conscience, for accomplishing such Designs. Moreover, as they put on every Disguise; as they forge, lie, flatter; as they use the Word Liberty merely as a Blind to conceal the Batteries they are erecting against it; and as they pretend to support and uphold the Constitution, at the very Instant they are planning a Scheme to destroy it; their Designs are so much the more dangerous by appearing to fight under the same Banner with ourselves; and the Wounds they give, are the more difficult of Cure, because they stab and assassinate under the Mask of Friendship, and therefore take their Aim the better, and strike the deeper. In the former Plots and Conspiracies of the *Jacobites*, their Aim and Intent were to dethrone the reigning Family, and to replace another: The present Views of the Republicans, which they are incessantly pursuing by various Means, and almost contradictory Measures, are, *to have no Throne at all*. Hence, by a Comparison of the two Crimes, the Reader must judge, which is the greatest, and the most repugnant to the *English* Constitution.

3dly,



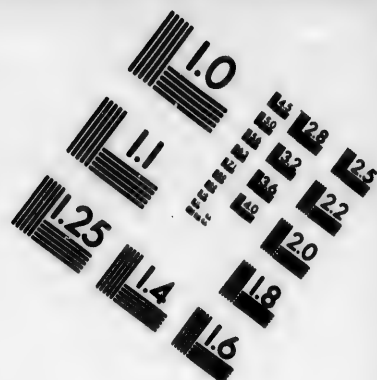
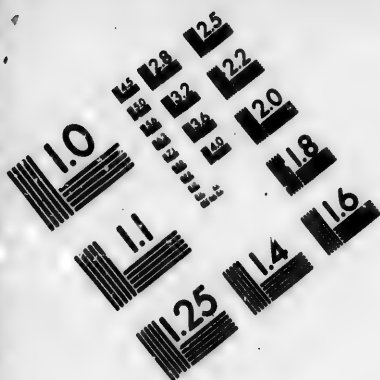
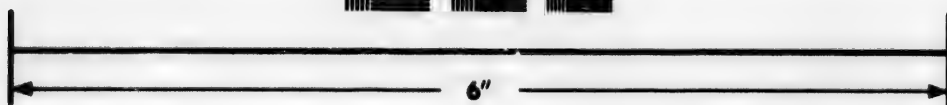
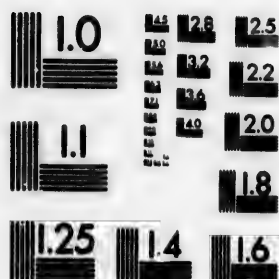


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ably, The Advocates for making *North-America* independent of the *British* Parliament must, if consistent with themselves, be for turning the *British* Constitution into something very different from what it is at present, or ever was; for the very Plea these Men use in regard to *North-America* is, that Representation and Legislation (a very small Part of which is the Power of raising Taxes) must always go together; therefore, as Nineteen Parts in Twenty of the People of *England*, and upwards of Ninety-nine Parts in an Hundred of the People of *Scotland*, are not qualified to be *Voters*, nor ever were, *be their Property ever so great*, that is (according to this new-fashioned Doctrine) are not represented in Parliament; it must inevitably follow, that a vast Majority of the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain*, as well as *British America*, have a right to renounce their Allegiance to the present Government as soon as they please, and to set up for Independence. For in Fact, according to the dangerous Principles now openly avowed, all this Multitude of Non-Electors owe no Subjection to that Legislature, and to those Powers, in the Choice or Continuance of which they were not consulted. They ought not to be compelled to obey any Laws, which were made without their Consent, or Privity; and more especially where they have no Representation, they ought not to be subject to any Taxation.

Taxation.—So that being thus happily set free from all Coercion of Government, all Restraints of Law, and Burden of Taxes; and having learnt at last to assert those inherent and unalienable Rights, which have been so long usurped, they are now restored to a State of the most perfect Freedom, and may either chuse another Form of Government, according to their own Fancy; or else live, as they can, without any Government at all. A blessed Specimen this of *patriotic Liberty*! A most comprehensive Bill of Rights! sure of overturning, if carried into Execution, every Government, that either ever was, or ever can be, proposed to the World.

4thly, The honourable Society of the *Oxys* will go as great Lengths to throw Things into Confusion as any Set of Men whatever; for as these Persons have no other End in View than to get into Power, and to share the Emoluments of the State among themselves and their Dependents, they will stick at no Measure, however unjust and unconstitutional, to compass this End: Nay, they will unsay the Things which they themselves had said in Administration; they will blame those very Measures which they themselves had planned and recommended; and, in short, they will do any Thing, and every Thing, to raise the evil Spirit of Discord and Dissension, to bring themselves in.

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Lastly,

Lastly, THE Inconstant and Disappointed, those who love to fish in troubled Waters, and those who, having spent their Fortunes, have nothing to lose, but may have a Chance to share in the Property of other Men by a general Scramble; also the Desperate and Daring of every Denomination; all these wish for some speedy Change in the Constitution.

PARTIES for preserving the present Constitution, and for keeping every Thing in a quiet and peaceable Condition.

1st, THE greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom; that is, almost all those who have the greatest Property at Stake, and have the most to lose.

2dly, A VAST Majority of the richest Merchants, and principal Traders and Manufacturers throughout the Kingdom, are the warm Friends of Government: The Exceptions on this Head are few, and very inconsiderable.

3dly, THE Clergy of the established Church are zealously attached to the present happy Constitution, wishing to preserve, and to promote Peace on Earth, and Good-Will among Men: And in respect to the dissenting Clergy, the most eminent and respectable (tho' it is to be feared, not the most numerous) act in the same
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laudable Manner, and endeavour to make their People truly sensible of the many Blessings they enjoy under the Reign of his present Majesty.

4thly, THE Proprietors and Stock-Holders in the public Funds will undoubtedly range on the Side of Government; because they can get nothing, but must necessarily lose by the Convulsions of the State, and by the Overthrow of that Constitution, the Preservation of which is their greatest Security.

5thly, THE whole Body of the learned Profession in the Law (Men who have acquired their Knowledge of the Constitution from Authors of a Cast very different from bawling, disappointed Patriots, or hungry Pamphleteers;—these Men, I say) in general agree, that each Member of the House of Commons, tho' elected by one particular County, City, or Borough, doth not represent that particular County, City, or Borough, in any *exclusive* Sense; for he represents the whole Commons of the Realm, one Part, and one Individual as well as another. A Member chosen by the County of *Middlesex*, is not chosen for *Middlesex* exclusively, but for all the Subjects of the *British* Empire; each of whom hath as constitutional a Right to his Services, and may be as much affected by his particular Conduct, and therefore has as much Right to *instruct* him, as any Freeholder in the County of *Middlesex*:

And he, on his Part, is bound by his Office to omit the *smaller* Interest of the County of *Middlesex*, or of the *Middlesex Electors*, when standing in Competition with the greater Interests of his Fellow-Subjects in *America*, or other Places:—So that in short, tho' some few only, perhaps not a fortieth Part, of the Inhabitants of the whole Island, have legal Votes for Representatives; all in general, both within the Island, and without it, are *virtually* represented. That this is Fact and Law, that this ever was the Constitution of the *British* Empire, from the earliest Times down to the present Day, is such an apparent Truth, that it cannot be denied. Therefore in this Sense it is true, and in *no other*, that every Member of the Commonwealth is supposed to give his previous Consent to the making of those Laws, which he is afterwards bound to obey, and to the imposing of those Taxes which he is obliged to pay. Indeed, upon this Footing (*viz.* of virtual Representation in some Cases, and of actual Election in others), a free and well-poised Government can stand, and be supported; but it can be supported on no other:—Nay, the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay* itself, whenever this Colony shall become independent of the Mother-Country, must then, as well as now, be supported on this very Principle; that is to say, on the very Principle against which they

so

so loudly clamour. And besides all this, the very same Reasons, which induce the non-represented Subjects in *England* to submit quietly and peaceably to the Payment of those Taxes, to which they have not given their Consent by actual Representation, ought to induce the *Americans* to acquiesce also; because, if the *American* Trade is so valuable, as reported, a *British* Parliament cannot injure this Trade by any Mode of Taxation, without injuring the Merchants, the Manufacturers, and the Traders in general of *Great-Britain*; and thereby sinking the Profits of their own Estates, and the Rents of their own Lands and Houses.

6thly, THE whole legislative Power of the Kingdom will certainly support their own Authority, and not commit *Felo de se* to please their Enemies. They will not, they never can admit the Parliaments of *North-America* to be independent of them, or co-ordinate with themselves in the same State or Empire.

7thly, THE whole executive Power of the Kingdom is at present in the Hands of his Majesty, and of those who act in his Name, and by his Authority. There the Constitution has placed it, and in no other Hands; nor is there the least Probability that mobbing, huzzaing, furious Speeches, and inflammatory Libels, without Arms, Artillery, or Ammunition, and
without

without a Treasury, will be able to wrest the executive Power out of the Hands of those who constitutionally enjoy it.

And now upon this General Review and Muster of the Forces on the Malcontent, as well as the Government Side, let every one consider well within himself, what he ought to do at the present Crisis, as a constitutional Patriot, an honest *Englishman*, a loyal Subject, and a prudent Man.

THE END.

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